1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Fulanga and Nasangalau are also kinfolk because a forefather of the present Ramasi went to dwell in Fulanga. He was slain at the instigation of the nobles of Tumbou. The palms, creepers, and pumpkins that grow on the spot where he was killed are white; no grass will grow there. If the people of Fulanga are hard up they ask Ramasi to help them; he may go to Fulanga and beg for timber, and the district chief and his family will fell timber for one side of the house, while the village headman and his family fell for the other side.

Vakano is one of the smallest, if not the smallest, village in Lakemba. (See p. 216.) The clans and sides of the oven are:

Vandravua	Lomai
	Tiro
Malaka	Mataimalo
	Nakorolailai
Suthuve	Naivisalala
	Naivikatavio
	Natambuika
	Navutu

The people of Vakano suppose that the Tu ni Mata, as the chief used to be called, was a priest. If a noble came from Tumbou he called first on Tui Ra. (See p. 76.) The *tauvu* of Vakano are Waitambu and Ndravo. One ancient went to Ndrava, one to Waitambu; both were spirits.

In Nukunuku the clans and their sides of the oven are:

Lomanikoro	Nambulevu
	Nambulailai
	Nasea
Matakei	Matakei
	Ndralakaka
Mbete	Naiviloaloa
	Nauturoaroa
	Nautopolo

Nambulevu is the clan of Tui Soso, Nambulailai of the heralds. (There are no more heralds.) One *tauvu* of Nukunuku is Thomo, a village in the island of Nggamea near Taveuni, because they have gods in common (*kalou vata*). Another *tauvu* is Naitaumbe because the two have one ancestor god.

Nukunuku is related to Oneata, Komo, and Namuka. To Oneata because the heralds Mandingi, Talimangimangi and their sister Uma of Nambulailai went over to Oneata. The people of Oneata saw they were strong planters and energetic, and so the island was given them to rule. To Komo because Naivi, a woman of Nukunuku, went to dwell in Komo. Namuka originates from Nukunuku because a lady of Nukunuku went to Namuka.

Narothake was always a small village. The foundations on the old site

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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636 721 they are able to fight with Lakemba. An army twice went against Ono. Thithia also was twice attacked. A Thithia man explains:

> If a noble of Tombou went to Thithia, or a noble of Thithia went to Lakemba, he was snubbed. They were like bananas (*mbalembale vakawundi*) because neither was above the other, but both on a level. If Thithia was defeated it is because they ate Roko Nayatha, a nobleman of Lakemba, in the course of the wars; had they not done so they would never have been beaten.

602 776 The *tauvu* of Thithia is Kanathea. This is due to Ratumaimbulu. He is worshipped both in Kanathea and in Tarukua. Vatuvara is also *tauvu*, also has gods in common (*tevoro vata*). Mbenga (Mbengga) is also *tauvu*: the nobles of Lakemba began; it spread to Thithia because it is considered to be Lakemban territory.

636 Besides "going to" Lakemba, Thithia "goes to" other Moala Islands; the village of Tokalau (Natokalau), to Totoya: Mambula and Tarukua, to Moala: Natheva and Lomati, to Matuku and Moala. They go by way of kinship only (as opposed to subjection). Their dialect is more after the Moala type, but spoken in a singsong way.

[197]

621 614 565 The chief village of Thithia is Mambula. Its clans are: Ngoneulu or Turangaulu, Soso, Mambula, Nggelenggele, Walakewa, Lauva. Ngoneulu are noble, Soso are their equals, and Tui Thithia is appointed among them also. In Tarukua are two clans of nobles: Vunisea and Nggitawa, from among whom Tui Thithia can also be chosen. Soso goes with Nggitawa; they are brothers. Of old they all lived in Tarukua. The nobles have a common descent but have split up into sections. Mambula are the heralds of Tui Thithia. There are small heralds in the various villages. The other clans are the people of the land (*lewe ni vanua*).

The clans of Tarukua are: Sawana, Yarovi, Tarukualeka. Nggitawa are included in Yarovi: their fathers were there before. The Turangaulu and the Vunisea of Tarukua are in Sawana. The Vunisea of Mambula live with the Turangaulu of that place. An informant says,

> We the natives of Yarovi, are the noblemen's old men (*nggase*), but the Nggitawa lives with us and are installed as Tui Thithia. We are bastards (*i tathini*) to them; the bastards wait upon the noblemen; their fields are not used for feasts; they are for the use of the noblemen (*na kendratou nga*); but the fields of the nobles are used for feasts.

614 565 Yarovi is really a side of the oven. It is divided into two sections (*i tokatoka*): Tiro and Nggilo. Some nobles are in Tiro, some in Nggilo; the descendants of the female line in Tiro, of the male line in Nggilo. If the descendants of the male line are extinct, the descendants of the female line or the bastards may be appointed.

Sawana is a clan, not a side of the oven. Its sides of the oven are: Yavuliku, Nasawa, Vanga. There are also sections (*i tokatoka*). Nasawa

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In the old days it was the dance of the two Matangi women (fairies). While they were performing a woman came and hid. The two went on; the woman imitated them and so learned it. She brought it to Ngau. 535 522

There is the monkey dance (*meke ni ngeli*) in which the dancers imitate a monkey.

Games

Reed Throwing

The game of reed-throwing (*tingga*) is no longer played in Lau except by children, as the last match ended in trouble. 524

The reed is held like a javelin between the thumb and middle finger, the forefinger being placed on the butt. It is hurled so as to strike the ground a short distance away in such a manner that it goes skimming on; sometimes for a change it is shot upward. In serious play the reeds are tipped with a head of toa wood, a very hard and heavy wood, and thence called *ulutoa* which is the Tongan for a "head of toa wood." The head is shaped somewhat like the tip of a gun shell, only longer in proportion. When thus tipped it is thrown higher and travels far. A loop of string is sometimes attached to the butt; in Verata, Vitilevu, I have seen spear throwers used, which I am told, are barred in matches. The length of the throw is considered to depend on a man's wind.

In the old days, each man had his spirit (*kalou*) for reed-throwing, small spirits that dwell in the bush. Some places were said to be places with spirits (*tevoro*), no one knew why, but they were cleared on the day before the reed throwing. Each man would get a crab, tie up all its legs except one, and leave it at the shrine of the spirit to crawl, so that the reed might crawl to the end of the Village Green or Mall (*rara*). 524 776

The teams are not limited in numbers. The home team, called "the owners of the Green," began the game. The first man is the spirit of reed-throwing (*kalou ni tingga*). As he throws, the audience clap hands tip to tip ending with a shout *pae*. When Tumbou plays, the clan of Tuware goes first because it is the spirit batallion on account of their god Tui Vutu: failing them, Tanggalevu. As each man prepares to throw, the spirit of reed throwing calls out, "*Tingga tu moi moilakina mai, sa u!*" (Throw the reed, brandish it, sah, ooh!) Before throwing, the player steps forward, takes aim, steps back, several times. The women of the opposite side annoy the men to make them fail. As the reed flies, the side of the thrower calls out, "*Tingga, tingga, tingga.*" 524

The others cry "*Mate, mate, mate*" (die). After everyone on that side has had a turn, the best throws are marked in the ground with a peg.

I: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6 Lakemba

WARFARE

FORTS

Few Lauans have seen heathen warfare. Lau did little fighting. 721

War is called *i valu*, which also means battle, army, battalion. It is also called the Evil (Tha), and the expression "the land is bad" means it is at war. Civil war is *veisei* (to migrate apart).

The villages of old were very small, surrounded by a moat. The plan could best be seen at the old village of Waitambu, which was known as Korotikindua (One-sided-village). It stood on a rocky eminence, Vatulinglingi, by the sea. It was rather difficult of access, especially on the sea side, at which there was no moat; on the land side the moat was broad and semicircular, from the middle outwards branched off another ditch, which may possibly have communicated with an outer moat. 712

Defences seem to have been repaired only when an attack was expected, when a stockade (*viri mba*) was made, and the water bailed out. Besieging parties set up a rough fence of reeds called a white fence because reeds are white. For "besieging" Lauans use *kamba* (to climb).

ORACLES

If questioned about the ancient gods, a man will almost invariably describe how they were consulted before a war was undertaken. The following account has been received: 726 757 776

Upon going to war, the ancient Lauans prepared large quantities of fermented food (*mandrai*)—the whole of Lakemba made a feast for the god Tui Lakemba, and each clan made a feast for its respective spirits. The people offered up a bunch of coconuts in the usual style (p. 70). The priest took them and rubbed them up and down and said:

"What are these coconuts?" They said:

"The coconuts of the war against Thithia. They are impudent. Let us have an answer whether they can be overcome or not."

The priest would say, "All right, I will go on ahead; three of the enemy will die in battle," and as he threw down the bunch, three nuts would fall off, or one or two as the case might be. Sometimes he said, "You will not kill (*ravu*); some of you will die."

It was so with all the spirits. In Waitambu they would offer kava to the Wind Women (Matangi, p. 192); they lay down the kava root and clapped, and touching it said, "We have come, sirs, we who are in distress, because, sirs, of the army which is about to come. Be gracious and help us in the war. That is all we have come to you for." Then they clapped again, inclined the head and listened for an answer. The women said, "Go that you may conquer," at which they all clapped. If the women were angry they would speak evil and rate them: "You will be smitten," at which the people also clapped; they might not be angry with the Matangi.

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One night he and the native were sleeping together in the same room, where there was a big box. After midnight the Lauan heard something thumping inside the box as though there were a man inside. He asked, "What is that?"

"The *kalou* of my remedy," the young man replied.

"May I see?"

The native took from the box a throwing club with a cowry tied on it; and stood it upon the box. This club was the temple (*mbure*) of a Child of Water. The Lauan was afraid because it stood like a man until morning. He asked, "What is it?"

"The proprietor of my remedy," answered the owner. Then they slept.

Next morning the owner explained, "If any man comes to fetch me to heal, I know by the club: if the remedy will be effective it will stand up. I say to the club, 'If this man can be cured, stand up.' In sleep the *kalou*, Mbokanamate by name, comes and reveals what is effective (*yanga*) for the disease, what leaves to use." The Lauan asked for the remedy and after six months the young man gave it to him, together with a throwing club, and a very ancient club of the type called *vunikau*, which was used by his forefathers, and told him the following things were forbidden to him: fermented banana till death, and whatever he ate or drank he had to pour out some first. After three months the Lauan made his teacher a present. He practiced the remedy for fifteen years; if he wanted to know about a relative he asked the club, "Is he in health?" and if he were the club would stand up. If anything were stolen he would enumerate all the people and at the right name the club stood up.

Mbokanamate comes from Rakiraki on the north coast of Viti Levu. He used to enter the teacher and the Lauan and tell them what was effective for a particular disease.

The remedy consists of 4 *mbokanimbure*, 4 *lera*, 4 *songakeirakiva*, 4 *nona langakali a alewa kalou*, 4 *kinitinganea*, and 4 *sasanggilo*. Besides those leaves there are some hundred written down in a book; but they are not constant. The above six are the base, the truth of the remedy; there is not a remedy in which they are not used except that *mbokanimbure* and *lera* are not used in diseases of the abdomen and in obstruction (*mate oso*). The others are only complements. The first two are good for diseases caused by spirits which make men to go mad; the third and fifth are good for diseases of the head; the fourth and fifth are "refreshers" for diseases caused by witchcraft. For obstruction *tikau ndamu* and *soiwa* are added, being strained in one reticulum. For difficult travail add *wandondundawa*, *oviovilawa*, *kulukulu*, and *Hybiscus*, all in one reticulum. This is sometimes used to bring out the afterbirth.

Spirits and Medicine

All informants are positive that spirits even in olden times did not reveal medicines; the only medicine was the priest: he touched the patient and he recovered. It was denied that there was any connection between the *kalou* of the medicine and what is usually known as *kalou*, that is spirits (p. 185): "There is no spirit (*tevoro*) as the god of the remedy. Only the remedies of the Children of Water have Children of Water as gods." The other medicines simply come down from ancient times.

The herald, however, told me of some remedies that had gods or spirits, but I do not know that they are ancient. Thus the hawk moth (*kumakumare*) is the god or spirit of one remedy; some have the grasshopper; some have a plant, and if the leech wants to pick the leaves the spirit hides them so that the patient dies. Some people are afraid to pick the leaves of their

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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776 own remedy because the spirit is sitting there at the foot of the plant; he
755 is not embodied in it.

757 The term *kalou* of the remedy which was used of prohibited food is also used in spiritualistic medicines of the spirit connected with the medicine. Thus a man who saw a white dog in a dream after treatment for possession, told his Tongan leech who said, "It is the spirit of my remedy."

It was not known why the ancient remedies are efficacious (*mana*). One man supposed they were given to black countries because they are not clever. Possibly God gave them to Fiji.

Remedies are generally concealed: it is hard for a man to tell his because some remedies are efficacious only merely taken inwardly. In other cases a man may take the remedy yet it does not work, because it is a thing of old times, the proper remedy of the owner. Even in this case, however, the names of the leaves are often concealed, and no reason could be given, except by one man who said the remedy would fail (*ndai*) if many knew.

In order to impart a remedy one wise woman would rub the palm of the pupil, who would then be able to treat the disease.

WITCHCRAFT

754 Witchcraft is included in the term *wai* (water) which also means medicine, treatment. It is also called *ndraundrau* or called *ndrau ni kau* (leaves), a term evidently from Viti Levu as the Lauan would be *ndra ni kathu*. Another term is *sausau* (pricking).

Vola declares that all witchcraft on the coast can in the end be traced to the hill tribes. Mba, on the western coast of Viti Levu, is especially considered to be the home of witchcraft. The Windward Islands, Mualevu and the Moala Islands, but especially Matuku, have a reputation for witchcraft.

It is most difficult to learn of evidences of witchcraft, as even intimate acquaintances will not bring the possessors of charms to confess. They are ashamed, both because it is bad and because it is forbidden by Government. Men have been killed even under British rule for practising witchcraft. One informant says that of old there were charms (*i sausau*) in every coconut grove; now it is a secret; another, however, says that of old few people knew. They may both be right; charms to protect property may have been considered legitimate; others may have been considered wrong. It is asserted that at the present day all witches have perished, because if a man was suspected he was made to kiss the Bible and if guilty, he perished. However, when three big noblemen died in quick succession, witchcraft was suspected and Ratu Finau compelled the whole island, even little children, to take an oath on the Bible that they knew no witchcraft; those who confessed had to swear that they would never use it again.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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The general methods of witchcraft are familiar to all, even children. Remnants of food are used "because some parts are left, and some go down the stomach." It is said asthma can be caused by burying a man's spittle. A man will split a reed, stick it in a garden and hang bits of clothes on it "in order that that disease may come and settle on it."

A man from Matuku had learned from Kandavu Island a charm, and told it to me:

The man speaks to the spirit of the charm (*wai*) and then carries out the witchcraft. He prepared the leaves and lays them down before putting them into a pit, and speaks to the spirit: "These are the leaves for .....; please go straight and kill him." The *kalou* or spirit is his great-grandfather (it is usual to call on the great-grandfather), it is by him the charm is made effective. The leaves consist of a creeper, 16 leaves of bitter *sinu*, and the sea creature called *utiutitaloko*, along with the remnants of a man's food, tobacco, his clothes or his cup. The owner buries the charm and runs seawards, not returning to his garden for four nights. The spirit turns the man towards the pit; but any man who passes over it dies, even if he is a kinsman of the owner. After four nights he pierces the spot, which steams upward.

The disease affects the arms, legs, and belly, the body swells, and the victim becomes restless; it is just as though he were with child.

The owner of this malicious charm learned from the same Kandavu man a method of detecting witchcraft. It is called *vakata* (causing to bite). The man described it as follows:

This must be carried out before sunrise, because the kava has to be made before sunrise, for it is forbidden to meet anyone while divining. With the thumb and forefinger he plucks with alternate hands two stems of the small plant, *totondro*. He lays them before him and with the corresponding hand plucks off the leaves: he may not use the right hand on the left stem or vice versa. He makes two sets of four leaves each, folds them, and picks up one between the thumb and forefinger of the right hand, the other in the same way with the left. He says, "I want to know about my kinsman, whether he is well or ill; if he is ill, let it sting me." Or else, "You twins, here, I wish to divine [*vakata*] for So-and-so. I want to know about my kinsman; be gracious and make effective my charm"; or "there is the kava of my kinsman; I want to know ....." He then chews the right hand set; if the kinsman is ill it will sting; if in health it will not sting. *Totondro* is a most insipid plant and stings only in divination. You may mention anything, such as witchcraft or cricket, then chew; it will not sting if your team is to lose. If a man wants to find a leaf he will point in all directions; it will sting when he points to the right one. The left hand is for confirmation (*i vakandinandina*). When the divination is over, the kava is poured away; no one drinks. The bathing consists in bathing in the sea, in washing hands and feet.

This charm has a spirit, the Twins (*koiran a ndrua*). They are goddesses. The charm (*vakata*) is just like my child: whenever kava is made at meetings I pour out a little of the first cup at the foot of the wall or elsewhere, and I drink the remainder. At the end of his demonstration I presented him with a mat and bark cloth and he said, "My power is gone. The charm is departed from me; you have taken it; the token thereof is the gift. If I want to carry it out it will not work. My charm is over for me; I shall not carry it out again; this gift is the end of it; now it will be useful to you till your death."

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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BELIEF IN THE SUPERNATURAL

Spirits

The usual word for spirits is *tevoro* (devil), a word evidently imported 775
by the Tahitian missionaries as *tevolo*. Another word is *timoni* (demon) [177]
which seems to be more particularly a Moala word.

Three kinds of *tevoro* are recognized: *tevoro* proper; souls of the dead; *vu*, or *tevoro vu*, the ancestor spirit (*tevoro vu*) of old; Luveniwai, or Children of Water, which are like men, living in the home.

The word for soul (*yalo*) also means mind, disposition, intention; it 774
takes the suffixed possessive—*yalona*. Reduplicated, it means shadow, reflection in the water, picture; it then takes the *O* possessive—*ona yaloyalo*.

A boy defined the soul as that whereby we live, move, and speak. Some boys place it in the midrib. The boy who defined the soul also thought that it goes away in sleep and returns in the morning; he did not know where it went, "Sometimes we dream that we shake hands with a person, but we wake up and find he is not there; we have shaken hands with his soul. The souls, though not visible, can see one another (*veirai vakayalo*)."

Another boy believes that when a man is weak and about to die, his 763
soul goes away, either by day or night; it dislikes the body because it is nearly dead, and so refuses to stay in it. A soul that wanders away from the body is called *yalo mbula* (living soul) as opposed to *yalo ni mate* (soul of the dead).

It is believed that wraithes sometimes appear shortly before the death of the person, and that if the wraith is called, the person does not die. It is thought that the large green grasshopper (in Mbauan, leaf grasshopper) bears the wraith, and appears to a kinsman when a person is about to die.

It was a moot point whether or not the word *tevoro* applied to wraiths. Wraiths are opposed to true spirits or spirits proper (*tevoro ndina*)—that is the souls of the dead and the *vu*; the true *tevoro* are also opposed to the Children of Water.

The word *tevoro* appears to be used of dead men, not their souls only. 775
My impression is that it is used of the dead lying in the grave, though I 196
have recorded no definite instance. It is sometimes used in the sense of "heathen"; the adjective *vakatevoro* (heathenish) is used of anything which is condemned by the Church from a heathen temple (*mbure vakatevoro*) to free love, which is described as living in heathen style (*tiko vakatevoro*); anything in which *tevoro*, spirits, are concerned is heathenish.

The old word which *tevoro* and *timoni* have displaced is *kalou*, which is 776 ●
now chiefly used to designate the Christian God, sometimes the Fijian gods 196
(*kalou Vakaviti*). The word *kalou* is not now used of ghosts; but when

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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776 196 Malani was young the people used indifferently *kalou* and *tevoro* of the souls of the dead; if the soul of the dead man came they said, "So-and-so has come as a *kalou* (*vakalou*)." The *tevoro vu* are frequently called *kalou vu* to the present day. The Children of Water were formerly known as *kalou rere*.

196 It will be seen that the words *kalou, tevoro, timoni,* do not correspond to any single word in our language. I shall therefore translate them ghost, spirit, god, elf, heathen, as the context may require. As for the word *turanga,* a definiteness may be introduced which is not in the original. A Fijian often would be at a loss to say to which class he is referring.

Miracles

778 196 The word *mana,* like almost all roots, can be a noun, an adjective, or a verb. It describes supernatural efficiency. Tui Tumbou gives the following explanation of the word: "A *mana* thing is a thing which was from the beginning and is *mana*; as for a spirit (*tevoro*) thing, if we speak to it, then the words of the spirit do *mana*; but if it does not come to pass they do not *mana*. If it is true (*ndina*), it is *mana*; if not true then it is not *mana*. A thing done by spirits is *mana*. In the Solomon Islands things *mana* because they were from the beginning. In Fiji they don't *mana*; they do *mana* once, but if another man uses them they don't *mana*. A Fijian medicine does *mana* if it works; it does not *mana* if it does not work."

The word *mana* is also explained as *yanga,* useful, effective. The opposite of *mana* is *ndai* which means to lie, to deceive, to be strong, to disappoint expectation.

The suffix *ta* makes *mana* transitive, in which case it means to act upon, to affect, as in the phrase: "*A thava e manati iko*" (What ails you?).

Ghosts

775 Ghosts live about graves; in fact a boy defined a grave as a place where ghosts abide. There were several graves within the school grounds so ghosts were quite common there, and much feared, so that people kept away at night. Ratu Finau sent word to my assistant not to go down at night alone to the village as the nobles were buried about there and might do him harm. One boy was afraid of cutting firewood near the graves lest the ghosts smite him; another attributed a swelling in his eye to a ghost from the graveyard among the ironwood trees. They did not like going alone at night because of ghosts. "How is it," I said, "I never see any one?"

"They are afraid of your lantern."

"Sometimes I do not take one."

"Oh! white men if they see a ghost say it is a man."

"Why do not ghosts come into my house at night?"

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

ever is certainly wrong: he gives it a circular mound, whereas the modern 346
remains show it to have been certainly square, and so the people also say.

PRIESTS

In Matuku it was stated that when a priest died, after a time the spirit 793
entered a man of that clan and that man quaked. The chief then asked 775
the name of the spirit. They then anointed the man in the temple with yellow. Neither the priest nor the man who anointed him could touch food for four days, after which they bathed. The proceedings were compared to those for a manslayer (p. 143), only the priest was not subject to tapu. At this time the women went to fish, but were forbidden to put the fish in their baskets: they lifted the net and those who fed the priest snatched the fish and placed them alive before him. After two days a taro patch was dug about the size of a mat. In this they planted big suckers that they might not die. This was called "making free the earth."

The spirit was said to "jump on a priest," that is, to possess him. He 793
then prophesied. If they wanted to consult the oracle they presented food 787
to the spirit by way of entreaty, addressing him as *mbongimbongi*, that is, dawn. When people were ill an entreaty was made. When they recovered a feast was made with kava. The first cup was poured at the foot of the post, after which the people clapped; the second was drunk by the priest who was said to *rambe*, as a herald does for a chief (p. 61).

A thanksgiving offering made when people had obtained their request was 782
called *i mandrali*.

When they made puddings the first one was taken to the temple; this was called *i singana* (*singana;* to put in the sun). The first of anything thus offered was so called. The term was also used of the bodies of the slain offered at the temple. It is also used of the first pudding taken to the chief.

ANCESTOR GODS

The god (*kalou*) of Navuanirewa, that is of the nobles, had no name. 776
It was not a true god (*kalou ndina*), but an abortion, so it was spoken of as the spirit of the house (*kalau ni vale*), which was nothing but the spirits of the children that died in the house. It was spoken of as child (*ngone*) or Solosolombalavu. Its temple was Salia.

The *kalou* of all Katumbalevu including the nobility was Tokairambe. His temple was called Mauthori. The Mauthori branch of Katumbalevu were the priests. Tokairambe was spoken of as Thingumbob of Mauthori (*ko ka mai Mauthori*), or the god (*tevoro*) of Mauthori.

Tokairambe's body (*tolo*) was a hawk (*taiseni*). A man of Katumbalevu might not kill the hawk, or the god (*tevoro*) would kill him.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

776 Tui Lakemba is the god of Valelailai. Tokairambe was worshipped a little, but Tui Lakemba was greatly worshipped. He was also called Sereivalu because he unfolded war and all things. His temple was Nautuutu. An ancient, vague account relates that long ago soil was deposited there by the Tongans. Tonga and Lakemba are connected lands (*vanua vata*) on that account. This soil was brought for reasons of kinship because they have the same god (*tevoro*); it was not brought for a supplication. Roko Kilai. Taliai's eldest son, was buried on the top of the foundation of the god's temple; the soil from Tonga was underneath.

I could discover no animal belonging to Tui Lakemba; Emosi was positive the god did not enter animals. He does not always reside in Lakemba but may be absent for a year or two at a time visiting various places. He does not kill men like Likuthava.

Tokairambe was a native; Tui Lakemba came from abroad. Until the god *vu* came to Lakemba, Tui Lakemba was the title of the chief. Tui Lakemba came down from heaven; it is not known how, but probably he is Satan. It is because he came down from heaven that the people of Naitombo go to heaven when they die (p. 184), for Tui Lakemba's priest came (*vu*) from Naitombo.

Tui Lakemba was a god (*tevoro*) from Thakaundrove. He sailed from Thakaundrove and landed in Nasangalau at a little spot which lies east of the village and is called Lakemba. Before his coming the whole island was called Natuithake, that is the windward island.[27]

Likuthava belongs to Valelailai. Her house (*vale*) was called Koronivia. She was not embodied in an animal. Emosi says she was called Hurricane Skirt because women used to make skirts to avert hurricanes. Emosi makes her a sister of Tokairambe and says if the oracle was consulted she and not Tokairambe entered the priest.

776 782 If a canoe were about to sail, a feast was promised to Likuthava; upon their return, the voyagers took it to the temple (*mbure kalou*) and offered it up to the priest; they retired and the priest divided among the people of Valelailai the share presented to them; the other clans got none. The priest ate Likuthava's share. Unlike Tui Lakemba, Likuthava easily took offence (*ndau ndindi*); if she did not receive a proper share of a feast she took offence and killed some one.

776 793 If a priest died and he had a younger brother, they would discuss and say to him, "You shall drink the kava." They made kava in the temple (*mbure vakatevoro*), and then they caused to jump, so that Likuthava might enter him. If she entered him he was the priest, if she did not they tried another of the same descent and generation (*kawa vata tautauvata*). If there were an elderly son he might be chosen, but the younger brother went first. When the younger brother died they appointed the son of the elder brother. The kava in question was done in chiefly style (*vakaturanga*) because the priest used to be chief (*turanga*), being respected on account of the god; for gods used to be feared and were chiefs (*turanga*); now the priests are despised. There was a kava song which was lost when the Tongans came in the days of Rasolo.

[27] A Mualevu man told me he had heard the name Natuithake used by the old men of Mualevu.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Emosi gives Tutumatua as the god (*kalou*) of Naitombo. His name is compounded of *tu* (to stand or chief), and *matua* (old). He is not embodied in any animal.

He is a well known personage and his name is familiar to all throughout Lau. He is a *tevoro* everywhere; there is no place where he has not a seat. He is identified with Ndauthina of Vanua Mbalavu Ndakuwangga of Thakaundrove; a writer (11, p. 172, 1896) identifies him with Komainatavasara of Thakaundrove, Randikendike of Ngau, Rathinathina of Namuka.

Tutumatua is an ancient god who lives on the shore and is often seen.

He has a long penis. If a woman bending forward exposes herself and Tutumatua sees her, and say he is on the reef and she on the hill (about a mile and a half apart), he will have connection with her. Tutumatua was once in Totoya and saw a woman in the sea busy fishing; he erected his penis; it was a hard as wood. He saw the woman naked, and saw her private parts, and erected his penis, and then patted his testicles. The woman came that way. His penis missed her and struck a stone; where it struck there is a hole; there it is to this day, the mark of the penis as it hit the stone. In a certain island the women were fishing; Tutumatua saw a woman lying in a canoe: he erected his penis; it struck the woman's privates, that she fell into the water and died.

Sometimes Tutumatua looks like a man; he is handsome; sometimes like a boy; sometimes like an old man with elephantiasis and white hair, who walks leaning on a staff. If he is like a boy, there is not as good-looking a boy in Fiji; if like an old man there is not as weak a man in Fiji. If he desires a woman he is a fine man with no one to surpass him; but if he once achieves a woman he changes into an ugly old man. Many women die of it, some don't. He killed Saro of Nasangalau and others.

Seini Otu, a woman of Waitambu, gave me the following account:

Once when I was lying ill in my house, I heard a noise like a whistle, then Tutumatua entered into the foot of a post and kept on calling my name, "Otu, Otu, Otu." He did not cease for a minute, night or day. Nine months he kept assailing me. If I lay down in the daytime he called me. I could do nothing but religious exercises (*lotu*). I read my Bible continually except when asleep. As I kneeled in prayer he called out: "It is false. It is false." I was ill about five months. When I prayed the spirits said, "Amen." I only heard their voices, did not see their bodies. I used no medicine, only religion. There were Tutumatua and others. I alone heard them, not the other people. I know by experience the devil (*tevoro*) is strong, that when the World was created the devils came down from Heaven to inhabit the World.

Ndroka is mentioned by Emosi alone as being the god (*kalou*) of Tandravula. Should a big fire for a feast be built, though all the food in the oven might be burnt, one root would be raw (*ndroka*). It is said this was for Ndroka.

Thekena had as gods (*kalou*) two young girls, known as the Two Children (*koirau na ngone*). One was called Vinaka (Good), the other Tha, (Bad).

They are the children of Tui Vakano, a god of Vakano. Their ship is a small bird called *kaisevau*, that bird was the god of Thekena. The two birds sometimes enter a house where there is a sick man; if they fly away and one comes back it is Good, and the sick man will recover; if she does not return he will die. If Good

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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T76 carries away anyone (his soul) he will recover; but if Bad carries away a child it will not recover. They once came into the native medical practitioner's house; the people shut the door to kill them, but they could not find them. The Two Children are always about. There are plenty of *kaisevau* about, but only two goddesses (*vu*) are the Two Children. They continually come into the house of Poasa of Thekena. If he is ill they come to see him; in his sleep he sees them standing beside his bed as small girls.

The people of Thekena may not speak of a child in their own clan or the Two Children will be angry and they will kill the child; so the people of Thekena call their children rats (p. 215).

Thekena were the priests of the Two Children. Their house was Nailangombakola in the old village; the name means "the log on which the body of the slain rests," and it is explained that dead bodies used to be offered there, and the name referred to the laying of the body at the door. If a chief ordered a man to be killed, the body was brought and offered up (*vakathambori*) before the door. Bodies were offered to the Two Children because they were goddesses (*tevoro*) and gods were chiefs. If the people were about to go to war, they went to the god's temple and offered up food there (*vakathambo*). The priest would say: "Go ahead; they will be beaten." If an enemy were killed, he was brought and offered up at the door. This was spoken of as taking a thing as *i singana* to the temple. If a child were killed, they would entreat and entreat on its behalf and it would recover; if it recovered they knew the soul had been taken by Good; otherwise it would not recover. The Two Children did not teach any medicine; the priest just said, "Go, all of you; it will recover." Then a big feast (*i mandrali*) was made to offer up at the temple where was the priest, and presented as their thanksgiving, because their wish was accomplished.

The Two Children are the children of the goddesses that go by the name of the Two Ladies (*koirau na marama*), the Two Women (*koirau na alewa*) in various parts of Fiji. In Lau they are known as *koirau a alewa matangi* or simply *matangi;* Lauans interpret *matangi* as the Tongan for wind.

If they desire a man they kill him, for they follow the ways of Tutumatua; if they have connection with a man he becomes pregnant. They appear as white ladies or as Fijian ladies, or as old women; if they desire a man they appear as girls with neatly hanging tresses. They caused the death of four men in Waitambu where they dwell. One Apakuki met the Wind Women among the mangrove trees; they had black skirts on; one had her hair combed in European fashion, and one wore it fuzzy in Fijian style. Apakuki took them for Tongan women; afterwards it occurred to him they might be the Matangi Women; he inquired in the village: no one had seen them, so he concluded they were the Matangi. He was stricken and died after four years.

One man was carrying a letter in Thithia. The two Matangi Women stood by the way; he desired them. The spirits (*timoni*) proposed that they should smoke; the man complied. As they were standing they disappeared in the ground and the man died. A woman in the village went and found him, and came to tell her kinsfolk. They came and carried him to the village.

In some island in Lau is an eel: which if anyone kills, he will die; if it appears it means someone will die in the village.

The god (*kalou*) of Tanggalevu is Ulupoko (*ulu,* head; *poko,* body).

He is all head and no body. His appearance signifies that someone will die. If he bites a person's hand in sleep, the person will die. If Tui Tumbou's eldest son were in Matuku and dreamed that Ulupoko was biting his hand, he would know someone is about to die, and it would come to pass within one or two months. One morning

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Sera, Tui Tumbou's wife got up and said: "I saw Ulupoko; he would not stop in 776
Nggio's house, but wanted to come with me, and got on my shoulder." Some time after Nggio died. If anyone sleeping in Tui Tumbou's house dreamed that Ulupoko jumped on his neck, he would go to another house.

Ulupoko's temple was Nggaraniyalisa on Kendekende and in the old village. He was effective (*yanga*) in war and in sailing. If a canoe of Tumbou was anchored and a strong wind blew, the owners would go to look at the anchor pole; if they saw a crab of the kind called *kamakama* holding the pole to which the canoe was anchored they went away and did not worry. This crab is the embodiment of the god, and the people of Tanggalevu might not eat it.

Tui Vutu is the god of Tuware. He lived formerly at a banyan tree in Vutu and blew his whistles; this ceased when the tree was cut down. His temple was Nakaria. He was a god that originated in Lakemba. Tui Tumbou knows of no animal belonging to him; Emosi says it is the owl.

He of Natavasara was a god (*tevoro*) of Thakaundrove; he was called so because if a man were caught he was immediately cut up (*tava sara*). Some identify him with Kumboavanua of Moala.

One day Tokairambe, going to bathe at Navutoka, took off all his ornaments—shell comb, collar of whale's teeth. The god of Thakaundrove came and carried them off. Then Tokairambe wept: the meaning of those riches was subjection. Tui Vutu came down to salute Tokairambe. "Who's that going away there?" he asked Tokairambe.

"He has taken away my ornaments," said Tokairambe, "if you can overcome him go after him."

Tui Vutu ran after him, and overtook him in Muairisi near Nasangalau or in Wanggatalatha. Tui Vutu called after him, "Eh! you are carrying away our ornaments."

"Yes."

"Leave them. What can you do? Fighting with the club or with the spear?"

"Let us not fight," said the god of Thakaundrove, "let us stretch up to the sky and see who is longer."

"All right," said Tui Vutu, "stand up first." So he of Natavasara stood up and reached the sky, and bent his head down.

"Have you done?" said Tui Vutu.

"Yes."

"All right; my turn to stand." Tui Vutu stood up, reached the sky, bent down to the earth, bent up again till he reached the sky, and bent his head down. The Thakaundrove man said, "You've won; take your ornaments. I am going back to Thakaundrove." Tui Vutu took the ornaments, came back to Tokairambe, who was bathing in Navutoka, and gave him the ornaments.

"You're a man," said Tokairambe, "the spirit battalion (*mataivalu kalou*) is yours. That is why Tuware is the spirit battalion: it is they who go first in war and reed-throwing.

The name of the god of the Lemaki family is not known, only that he was a dog and that the Lemaki could not eat dog nor see one eaten. Should the Lemaki learn that a dog had been baked, after the dog had been taken out of the oven he would put leaves in it, lie on them, and be buried up to the face.

The temple was called Manono. If anyone stole anything the owner 773
brought kava to the old men in the temple. After the kava had been pre-

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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sented to them nothing further could be done until the matter had been reported to the Lemaki. If he said, "All right, don't kill the thief," they carried two large pieces of bark cloth to the center of the village waving them about (*yalovakina*). Then they tied the bark cloth on sticks which they stuck like flags outside the temple. Then the two old men went inside and saw the souls of the thieves come and stand at the door. Next morning they informed the Lemaki, who told the owner. The thieves then prepared a feast and gifts, and brought them to the temple. If not, they died. If the owner decided they should die he would ask the priest to take the bark cloth into the house of the god, and then they all died in the morning; they howled away and died: the god devoured them. In that case the owner brought gifts to the Lemaki. To make them die, the cloth might also be nailed in a canoe or in a building.

There were many small gods (*kalou*) whose names were not even known. There were gods belonging to villages, gods belonging to clans, but no gods of individuals.

There are many stories of personages who are commonly referred to as *tupua*, sometimes as *tevoro*, but whose names are not known. Beyond the legends nothing appears to be known of them at the present day.

Tarukua is the only village that has no water. This is why. There was a *tupua* of Kendekende, and a *tupua* of Tarukua. In the course of time the one of Kendekende devised by what means canoes could get to Kendekende. So one day he took a whale's tooth and took it to the god of Tarukua, and proposed that they should dig a canal or ditch from Kendekende to Tarukua to reach the sea, so that when canoes came in they could anchor right at Kendekende. So the god of Tarukua went to dig in Tarukua, and the god of Kendekende dug in Kendekende. They dug on and they almost met at the top of the Great Marsh (Sosolevu): the god of Kendekende came on one side, and the god of Tarukua came on the other, when the cock crowed. The god of Tarukua said, "Good-bye; I am going."

The god of Kendekende said, "Come and take your share of the feast."

The god of Tarukua said, "I won't; it is day; I might be seen."

The god of Kendekende said, "Come and take some sugar-cane."

But he said, "I won't; it is day; I might be seen."

So he ran to Tarukua, and the god of Kendekende ran to Kendekende; they ran in different directions. It dawned and so they did not finish what the god of Kendekende had planned. The place that remains unfinished is a narrow ridge just wide enough at the top for a one man path, connecting the two hills and dividing Tavaungo valley from the Great Marsh. The top looks as though it might be artificial, and it is quite possible that it was built up to make the path easier. The reason why the cutting was not finished is that the god of Kendekende was busy making a feast; that is why his part is short, while the god of Tarukua's is long.

Another story relates that Tui Sosolevu was angry and speared the god of Tarukua. A third version is that the god of Tarukua began the ditch because Tarukua is waterless. He had nearly finished when the god of Kendekende saw him, took a stick, threw at him and hit him; so the god of

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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776 Ndauthina is the spirit of Nautu and is also a god of war. His priest at the present day is Eliesa who uses much dreaded medicines which Ndauthina gives him. His abode is in Ndalithoni. Ndauthina is the same as Ndakuwangga, a god (*vu*) of Taveuni.

Ko mai Naisoipu is a spirit in the clan of Mualevu. He is incarnated in a snake. There are many people who dream of him and nearly die of fright.

The god of the island of Munia is Koroimbo. His rafters are made of a fish, the *loulou*; he uses octopus for halyards and his pig is a fish. These abound around Munia.

Ndimailangi is a *tevoro* who is the goddess (*kalou*) of Uruone. The reason why they have her as goddess is this:

> One day an old man was working in his sweet potato field in the place which is their graveyard at the present day, when Ndimailangi fell from heaven, and turned into a monitor. The old man said, "That monitor which has fallen I shall roast and eat."
>
> The monitor said, "Will you roast me, or I roast you?" The old man went and seized it and went to light a fire. The monitor said, "Let me live, and I will be your goddess of sailing."
>
> The old man said, "When we sail it is I who am pilot."
>
> She said again, "Let me live and I will be your goddess of wealth."
>
> The old man said, "If we compete in wealth it is I whose wealth is greatest."
>
> The monitor said, "Let me live; let me live to be your goddess of war."
>
> The old man said, "War indeed! See! by my might I have bound you."
>
> The monitor said, "Let me be your goddess of war."
>
> He said, "It is well," and released the monitor.
>
> Ever since Lomaloma never fought, only Uruone slew men; but the nobles of Lomaloma just came and ate the dead men.

The goddesses of the clan Sau in Yandrana, Iloilokula, and Ra Marama, live on a promontory called Nggaraileka in Vuniyavi. No one may go there without cause, or they take him and have intercourse with him; if a handsome man goes they kill him. It used to be forbidden to be impudent near their abode, as by wearing a turban. They appear in human form. Those who consulted the goddesses brought a bunch of coconuts; the priest rolled on the mat, grunting as he did so. The gentlemen said, "Give us an answer," but he only grunted. Then he would assume a woman's voice and lifting up the bunch shake it; if one fell down, it meant a man would be killed.

The clan of Mbaumbunia in Yandrana has a god called Rereakalou.

> He is useful at reed throwing. His name comes from the fact that if a reed thrown by a man of Mbaumbunia lies, the next one, though it come with speed, turns aside on approaching the Mbaumbunia reed; hence he is called The-god-is-afraid. The priest used to touch the patient and he recovered. Fijian gods were true: if a man failed to present the first-fruits to the god, the god made the man's child ill. Rereakalou was incarnated in a dog.

The god of Yawalevu in Yandrana is Tutumatua.

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He was turned out of heaven; he is a fallen angel. He is a brave god; he is fond of women. If they were preparing to go to war they went and twirled the sacred coconut (*vakawiri mandingi*). This coconut was kept in the temple; the people offered it up; then they twirled it, and divined what would happen. If Tutumatua carries off the soul of a man Ananaiasa cures him by touch because Tutumatua is Ananaiasa's god. The temple is Nautuutu. He is incarnated in a white crane.

There is a god Semo in a side of the oven of Yawalevu, who is incarnated in a grasshopper. They say in jest it is a low-born animal because it is small.

The god of Thenu is Eleilakemba.

The *tauvu* of the clan of Mbaumbunia in Yandrana is Lauthala by reason of Rereakalou. Another is Vatoa; the ancestor-god of Yandrana went to Vatoa.

Lomaloma, especially the clan of Nambutha, is *tauvu* of Yandrana.

There is a stuffed stone (*vatu sososo*) at Muanivatu at Yandrana.

A man puts a leaf in and says, "Plate of my food, I go to Vakano; let me not be late; let me come in time for the pudding." It is also good for women: "This leaf I stuff in that I may meet the woman I am going to see. May we meet alone in the path to talk." It is no use for fishing. Sometimes it is true, sometimes it does not come true. It is effective (*mana*) through a spirit; a supernatural being (*metha tani*) lives there, a demon, Tutumatua.

Mbatininggaka (Crab's-claw) was an ancestor-god of Narothake, given to planting. In proof of this the following story is told:

Once there was a famine in Lakemba. The ancestor-god of Lakemba went to Kendekende and ate pounded cinders, but Mbatininggaka had breadfruit in Wamalutu. The god smelt the ripe one and looked for them. He was found with a ripe one and driven away. You can still see his footprints. He leapt into the sea and the place into which he jumped became a great pool. His temple was called Valetho (Grass-house).

One man says he was embodied in a *nggaka* crab. If such a crab pinches a man of Narothake in the arm he will die; another says he was embodied in a hawk and they used to salute the hawk. He was the god (*tupua*) both of Narothake and of the nobles of Tumbou.

The god of Lomanikoro, Nukunuku, was Leka (Dwarf); his abode, the frontier; his embodiment, an owl. Formerly a round stone called Vakasaova was worshipped, in Nukunuku, a share of the fishing was put on it. "Doubtless the spirit entered the stone." He was the god of the whole village.

The god of Vandravua, Vakano, is Mbulakambiri, a rat with white stripes. That is why in Vakano the children were called rats, not children. The temple was beside a big chestnut tree; in former times a female rat came out from there followed by her young.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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776 Tui Vakano is the chief god of Vakano; that is why no man was formerly a Tui Vakano; the title was forbidden to men since Tui Vakano dwelt in the Nether Regions (Mbulu). I do not know what clan was priest. He was the god of the village, not of a clan. He is said to have been the child of the High Chief, an abortion, and he came to live in Atapu.

His temple was called Atapu and the battle cry (*i vakathavu*) of Vakano was, "The offering lies in Atapu." He was the father of the Two Children of Thekena. He was a strong god, a fighter; if a god came from some other state it was he who drove him away.

Lewandranu is the goddess (*tevoro*) of the clan of Nakambuta in Nasangalau. It was not certain whether she was Tokairambe's sister or mother. If they were brother and sister, Tokairambe was the elder. She enters into a dog. If she is angry with anyone she makes his child ill.

Thurutangitangi is the god of Nauto-nggumu, Nasangalau, and is embodied in an owl. There is no relationship of *tauvu*.

The god of Ndreketi, Nasangalau, is Mbatingasau. The hawk is his ship like Tokairambe of Katumbalevu. Ramasi supposes that Ndreketi and Katumbalevu are kin, for both are heralds.

The gods of Loma, Nasangalau, are two women called Raluve and Koilasa [? *kuilasa*].

They are flirts (*wendewende*). They still appear. If they like a man they have tresses and look pretty; if they dislike one they are covered with rash. They are dreaded goddesses. They sometimes order a skirt to be made and hung in the house to be their skirt; if anyone takes it he falls ill.

The god of Wathiwathi was Nanduruvesi Raisorovi, also called Weleilakemba; his temple is Nasavanithangi (Temple-of-the-wind). He was questioned if a war or a voyage were preparing; his priest trembled and spoke. Veikau had the same god. No animal of Raisorovi's was known.

The clan of Mataivungalei in Wathiwathi had as god a big stone some five feet high and round, and called Taindreve.

It is surrounded by small stones. If the people of Mataivungalei make an oven they do not remove all the food; for if they do so the big stone comes and embraces (*ronggota*) all the stones in the oven and carries them away. The people dare not go and get them back.

Ulunawale (Head-only) is the god of Tarukua, Lakemba. He is evidently the same as Ulupoko in Tumbou.

Tui Oneata is the god of Oneata. His incarnation is partly snake, partly eel, partly sea-snake.

Once he appeared in the path, was picked up, wrapped in a leaf and placed at the foot of a post. The priest began to shiver and called for hot embers which he ate. When he had finished the snake was not to be found. The priest said Tui Oneata wanted a big feast to be made; it was made and taken to the priest's house, who ate

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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of it, and the rest was distributed among the people. Tui Oneata originally came from 776
Nakauvandra in heathen times. The reef is his path: Mbukatatanoa, Vanua Masi; he passes on the further side of Lase Viti and Lase Tonga, goes to Olorua, Katavanga, Malevuvu, Thikombia i Lau, Nasavasara, Wailangilala, Rambe, Thikombia i Ra, Mathuata, Nambainivualiku, Yasawa, Nakauvandra.

Tui Oneata has two nephews (*vasu*) in the village: they live in two stones. They are known as Vasu i Tui Oneata. If they carry off a child he does not recover; the people learn from the priest that he cannot live because the nephews have taken his soul; people pray to them but in vain. The people used to be afraid of touching the stones.

Tui Oneata once went to Lakemba. The god of Lakemba, Tui Tumbou's god, was in heaven, so his house in Tarukua was empty. Tui Oneata lay with Thangandua, his wife, but she spilt the scented oil so that the smell reached to heaven. The god of Lakemba said, "There is someone in my house." He came down to his village. What he did is not related, but his wife made a present of mullets to Tui Oneata, since when there are scarcely any in Lakemba, but many come to Oneata.

Longaniu have a god called Nawa; his temple was in Ndakuiloa; his priest was called Ko Nambetekotonga (The Tongan priest).

When the king of Tonga used to come, his people hung chestnut leaves on their necks; they brought soil from Tonga (*ta nggele mai*); they cooked yams and pigs; the priest shook and fell down; then he ate of the pigs and yams; after which the Lord of Tonga could proceed to Fiji. Fijians did not pray to Nawa.

An account relates why there were no mosquitoes in Oneata, while there 773
were in Kambara.

The ancestor-god of Oneata, Wakulikuli slept. The ancestor-god of Kambara, Mberewalaki, came to Oneata and said, "Would you like my insects?"

The god of Oneata said, "What insects?"

The god of Kambara said, "My alarm."

The god of Oneata said, "Go and fetch them."

The god of Kambara went to get them and wrapped them in a young plantain leaf. The god of Oneata went to the marsh in Oneata and gave the *kekewa* to the god of Kambara. The god of Oneata opened the plantain leaf and all the mosquitoes flew out. He went to sleep, but the mosquitoes kept biting him; he awoke. "The god of Kambara is indeed a knave," he said. He pursued the god of Kambara, and said to him, "You are a knave!"

The god of Kambara said, "Why?"

The god of Oneata said, "Inasmuch as you gave me the mosquitoes. Where are my *kekewa*?"

The god of Kambara said, "Go and look for them."

The god of Oneata went, but did not find them. So the mosquitoes remained in Oneata. At the present day there are plenty of *kekewa* shells in the marsh, but no flesh in them: the flesh is in Kambara.

TAUVU

The word *tauvu* is derived from *vu* (origin, ancestor, god). The prefix 60!
tau—in Thakaundrove forms collective kinship terms like *vei*—in Lauan only without the aid of the suffix *ni;* thus "brothers" in the Thakaundrove dialect is *tautathi,* in Lauan *veitathini.* The word *"tauvu"* therefore means "related as gods." The word has come, however, to have the force of a

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601 simple kindship term: a man will speak of another as "my *tauvu*" (*nggou tauvu*), and a collective *veitauvu* has been formed from this, and from this again has been formed a verb *veitauvutaki* which means to behave or to be as one man to his *tauvu*.

602 The relation of *tauvu* is commonly defined as having common spirits [776] (*tevoro vata*) or having common gods (*vu vata*). The behaviour of people who are *tauvu* to one another is described thus:

> They abuse one another and do not resent it, men and women, it is all one. When they meet they say, "The orphan," or "the body fit to bake is coming." When they have done abusing one another they talk nicely. If a stranger comes into the village and as a [824] joke strokes or ruffles the head of a native the people of that village know he must be a *tauvu* because the head is a respected part of the body. Cross-cousins are like people *tauvu* to one another: they may joke obscenely. The custom of *tauvu* is like that of *vasu*, for if a man goes to a place which is *tauvu* to him he can slaughter pigs and fowls for his own use without asking leave.

602 Lakemba, apart from the nobles, has the following *tauvu*: Wainikeli in
621 Taveuni; the island of Mbengga; some village of Koro, no one knew which; and Namara, near Mbau. When, however, these relationships are looked into they are found really to belong to particular clans in Tumbou, but they have extended more or less to the whole island.

The real *tauvu* of the nobles and of all Katumbalevu is Notho, near Rewa. Notho is really the *tauvu* of Naiau; the nobles being from Naiau have the same *tauvu*. (For the story, see p. 212.)

The other *tauvu* are not *tauvu* of the nobles only because they are *tauvu* of the landsmen (*koira a Vanua*), that is, Valelailai, Thekena, Tumbou. Emosi declares that Valelailai alone has *tauvu* because they were owners of the god Tui Lakemba; Wainikeli, Mbengga, Koro, and Namara are *tauvu* because of him; he went to those places. Semi of Tumbou admits that the clan that has most *tauvu* is Narewandamu, and that Emosi ought to know because his father lived long in Wainikeli and Namara. The Wainikeli people themselves name Narewandamu as their *tauvu;* the others are not disputed except Mbengga which Tui Tumbou claims as his. Poasa tells the following legend about Mbengga:

773 The daughter of Tui Lakemba was Raluve. She climbed a *mamba* tree. This
776 goddess then flew like a bird. She reached right up to heaven and came down to Mbengga, where she married Tui Mbengga, the god (*vu*) of Mbengga. She had a child in Mbengga, and so she had descendants in Mbengga. The Mbenggans are descendants of the female, while Lakembans are descendants of the male; Lakemba and Mbengga are therefore cross-cousins, and this cross-cousinship is called *veitautaki*.

602 Waitambu is subject to Thekena because they have common spirits
621 (*kalou*), common gods (*vu*). It was never said that they were *tauvu* to Thekena.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Tanggalevu is *tauvu* on account of Ulupoko either to Vuna or Vuya. The Vuna people do not mention Tumbou among their *tauvu*.

Tuware has no *tauvu* because Tui Vutu was a god (*kalou*) that originated in Lakemba.

The *tavau* of the clan of Mbaumbunia is the island of Lauthala, by reason of the god Rereakalou. Another *tauvu* is Vatoa: the ancestor god of Yandrana went to Vatoa.

Lomaloma, esperially the clan of Nambutha, is *tauvu* of Yandrana.

ELVES

Whereas the true spirits (*tevoro*) are never spirits (*kalou*) belonging to the individuals, Tui Tumbou thinks the Children of Water, or elves, might be considered to be so. He has taken part in the rites of old when they were known as fearful spirits (? *kalou rere*), and gives the following account:

It is from Ndengei (the snake god that lives in Nakauvandra) that the Children of Water originate. He gave breadfruit, Tahitian chestnuts, *ndawa*. It is said he made the world (*puli vuravura*). His sons are Children of Water: Mautu, Nathirikaumoli, Nakausambari, and many others, the children or subjects of Ndengei. His cock was his awakener; Turukawa was the name of the cock. Rokola, the god (*vu*) of the Carpenters (*mataisau*), went and shot it dead with an arrow. Ndengei did not hear the cock in the morning and was angry. He caused rain to fall, and a flood rushed down from Nakauvandra, and the Carpenters floated away, Rokola floated away. Rokola said, "You always remember Rokola." Such were his dying words (*tatau ni mate*). Some landed in Naitasiri; some got to Rewa and stayed there, and still dwell in Nandorokavu. They brought down soil from Nakauvandra, Nathirikaumoli and Nakausambaru are said to have gone to White Man's Land; that's why there is skill there; but now they are not to be found because they are on their way back to Fiji.

The Fearful Spirits [those who practised the rites] went to the bush and were taught by the Fearful Spirits for four weeks or more. They caused the Fearful Spirits to enter them; the Fearful Spirit that entered a man was called his friend (*i tau*). The leader or teacher was called Vuninduvu. When they were proficient he would throw a spear at a man; the man would call out: "The rampart! the rampart!" (*a mba*) and beat his chest; then the Vuninduvu struck him and the spear glanced off. If a true spirit is in a man it flies before the spear, and the spear penetrates the man, because the spirit is afraid. It is otherwise with the Fearful Spirits (*kalou rere*).

When they were proficient they went to hold a festival (*solevu*) on the Green in honor of the Fearful Spirits. Men were speared there and so people saw and believed. There are various tribes (*yavusa*) of Fearful Spirits, for they have clans. The Faces of the Wood (*mata ni kau*) are one tribe; they are speared with a spear. Another family called Coconut cutters (*Tava vono*) broke coconuts in two on their shins. The Coconut-eyes (*mataniniu*) set up a coconut, and sat down and sang:

Ko Mataniniu, ia vana niu,	Coconut-eyes, shoot coconuts,
Vana ko tunggasungga tale mai.	Shoot and draw back.

As they sang they took aim, leant back, sat up again, and repeated the song and the motions several times; then they shot the coconut right in the eye and the milk gushed forth. Then they clapped hands and sang:

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

776 Ka turua a wai ni sosou. The milk of the coconut drips.
794 Ka tangi a kena nggolou. And the shout resounds.

Some men were called Women. Tui Tumbou was a Woman at the first festival he took part in. They cook food and use bananas as covering for the food, which proves the truth of the whole thing since bananas [banana leaves ?] are combustible. They feed the people and the Fearful Gods sing:

A kuro ka toka me sa laki mbuta, The pot that is on the fire will be cooked,
Mbuta tu a marama ni vula, The lady of the moon cooks it,
Me takia vei ira a kai Vuya. To serve up to the people of Vuya.

Vuya is a place in Vanua Levu, and the Vuyans are probably the Fearful Spirits. The tribe called Veli closes the performance. The Veli belongs to the young men. As they come on to the Green they sing:

A yavusa Veli ka sa there vuka, The Veli tribe flies up,
Songo lala tu a vu ni ndakua. The *kouri* tree is empty and closed.

The *kouri* tree is the habitation of the Children of Water. As they enter the Green, the *vuninduru* spears them with a bamboo in the back and chest. At the second festival he attended Tui Tumbou was a youth, but his "friend" would not enter him. The only use of the Fearful Spirits formerly was for festivals, for pleasure; they did not reveal medicines; that is a new thing. The leader learned dances in his sleep and that is still done.

776 Nambateteva is said to be famous in all Fiji and Tonga, and Mbauans used to come and see it; it is famous for spirits and Children of Water; the spirits are Nathirikaumoli and Nakausambarei.

The Children of Water do not live inland but on the shore; they are worshipped only on shores where there is a nice beach. They appear as small men, and do not enter animals. It is said they and the spirits proper are enemies.

776 794 Vola attended the Children of Water in Nukuleka; but did not see the beginning; all the young men knew the Children of Water except Vola, and they feared he might inform against them, so they enticed him to join. They were all young men. He says:

I took some kava and offered it up to the expert (*ndau*) that is the *vuninduru*, a man of Ndravo, near Mbau, Sailasa by name. In offering it up I used the polite *saka* and presented it like a kava for a chief (*vakaturanga*): "Let the chief be gracious, He of the Sea; let him be favorable and grant a youth to be my friend," and so on, a long speech. "He of the Sea" is Ndakuwangga, a great shark in Thakaundrove, a god (*kalou*) famous in Fiji. The *vuninduru* touched the kava and prayed over it, ending, "And may you get a friend." Then one who is experienced offers up the kava; he turns towards the leader and utters the names of all the *tevoro*. Then they go and prepare the kava in Fijian chiefly style.

Everyone drinks; no one is omitted. Then they begin the Children of Water. The leader chooses one man to do it; then another, then another. One called Farseeing (Raiyawa) begins: he sees if anyone is coming to arrest him, and whether the Children of Water are in the Green, that is, the space where they perform. Then another man starts, then another. Then the leader orders them to do it *en masse*. They do so and shake, and each announces himself, "I am from Kandavu [or from Tonga, or wherever it may be], I am strong." Some prophesied, but it did not come true.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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The leader looked after them: if a new man could not do it, the leader would go and sit beside him and say, "Lively, lively" (*mbula*), to make it embark, that is, to make the spirit enter. Sometimes he fails; at some future time he will be able to make it embark. 776 794

I frequented the performances for three months; they did it three or four times a week; and I never saw any more than that: there is plenty of talk but the performance is small. They did not tell the history of the Children of Water, but only that they and the spirits (ghosts) are enemies.

Divination

Divination was practised with a coconut; a method called *vakawiri manjingi* (*vakawiri*, to twirl; *manjinji*, a term for a coconut used in this manner). In Yandrana this method was used in consulting Tutumatua. If the people wanted to know whether they would have a fair wind to the Southern Islands, they would take a mature coconut with the husk on and holding it say, "I am touching the coconut: if it is your wish that we may go tomorrow let the coconut arise [?] and face me." Then a man twirls the coconut: if it faces him it is said to face right; if it does not it faces wrong. If it faces right it is twirled again without the prayer being repeated; it must face right twice or they cannot sail. If the nut faced right they kissed it. The same method was also used in sickness. Every one knew how to do it, and I have seen boys use it to find out who is a bad man. 787

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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TARUKUA

539 The gods (*tupua*) of various places went to Kendekende to get water. They dug channels and brought it down to the villages. A god took water in a taro leaf and carried it and ran to Tarukua. As he ran the root of a *Casuarina* tree tripped him up so that he fell and spilt the water. He ran to the beach. There the god (*tupua*) of Wathiwathi met him and they argued about Aiwa. The god of Tarukua threw a stone at it and broke it and said to the god of Tui Wathiwathi, "Go and see; if it is broken it is mine." The god of Wathiwathi went to see: it was broken in two unequal pieces and the stone thrown by the god of Tarukua lies between them. The smaller half belongs to Wathiwathi the other to Tarukua.

Another version runs as follows:

There was a god of Levuka, and he used to go to Aiwa, as Aiwa was his land. In course of time he went there one day and the god of Tarukua went there. He said, "Where are you going?"

The god of Levuka said, "I am going to Aiwa."

And the god of Tarukua said, "It is not your land."

And they disputed. The god of Levuka kept saying, "It is mine, not yours." They argued and argued, then the god of Tarukua threw a stone at Aiwa which was broken, and the Tarukuan said, "Your end to leeward, and my end to windward." But the end which was Levuka's was given to Roko Sau.

823 In Nanduayalo on the beach below highwater mark stands a small rock called *vatu ni loka*, or tidal wave stone. If any one strikes it and breaks off a piece a tidal wave is said to follow. Women who go to fish sometimes strike it, being sceptical. The size has much decreased in consequence.

[During my stay there was a big tidal wave.] The people inquired, "Who has struck the tidal stone?" Now a woman of Fulanga who did not know the stone, had broken off a piece to get at a shell fish. She was afraid and said nothing, but some one knew of it. Emosi says the spirit of the stone is Tui Tarukua; another does not know; a third says, "Perhaps it has something to do with ancestor gods" (*ka vakatupua lako*); a fourth says there is no spirit. Tui Tumbou says this and the "stuffing rock" (*vatu sososo*) have nothing to do with spirits (*tevoro*); they date from the beginning of the world; they are *tala tupua;* that is, they come from the origins. However, perhaps God is the spirit of it in that he made it miraculous like that.[28]

WAITAMBU

776 539 Waitambu is the seat of the Matangi Women. They are the goddesses (*kalou*) of Rakuta and the chief gods of Waitambu.

They used to have a house in a place called Rakuta by a spring inland of the taro fields that lies on the main road. The land belongs to the descendants of the priests. Bubbles come up in that spring now in one place now in another. Under the bank an eel is said to lie; sometimes it is visible, and they take it up and place it on the ground; if they touch the body it lies like dead; if they touch the head, it turns and bites. Beside the spring stands a coconut palm which was in front of the door of the Matangi's house; next to it is a *mamba* tree which flowers; but the fruit dies in Mbulu,

[28] My boys once held a heated discussion, Keni refusing to believe that the stone caused tidal waves. Another argued, "If I am hit I am angry; and so it is with the stone." Keni retorted that the stone had no soul. Mosese admitted this, but contended that this was due to a spirit (*e mbaleta o tevoro*).

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that is the home of the dead. The two women dislike for the fruits to appear in the world. There are also two *sese* trees which bear fruit. Their other trees which were used for necklaces, the *vono*, the *uthi*, and *nggori* trees are gone, but the *lemba* and red *Dracaena* remain.

The neighboring taro plantations contain the implements of the Matangi: mosquito nets, conch, board for beating cloth, latrine, spring where they wash away their menses; all these are merely the names of little patches of land; the two told the priest to give these names to the fields. Down by the shore below the old village is a broad flat stone which gives a hollow sound when struck: it is also called the cloth board of the Matangi. Another big stone is their mallet; their conch is a stone with a small hole in it, and their kava bowl is a hollow in the rock; and their kitchen is under the overhanging rock.

Inside the Matangi's house in Rakuta there used to hang a basket of food for the Matangi; if any one bumped his head against it, he became bald. Two conches lay on the floor facing each other; they used to be rubbed with oil; bark cloth anointed with turmeric and oil was spread out. If there was a war impending the priest went to see the conches; when he uncovered them they lept as high as the roof, clashed, and fell back into their places.

The Matangi Women are good for war, sickness, all things that men are in need of they bring to pass. It is said at reed-throwing they used to seize the reed and run with it, remaining invisible.

The Matangi Women are always in Waitambu and are called The Two Ladies (*ko i rau a marama*). The name of one is Taindomondomotha, of the other Taindomondomovinaka, Mother of Bad Desire, and Mother of Good Desire. They used to object to the children of Waitambu being called children because of their own two children one of which was called Vinaka (Good), the other Tha (Bad). Therefore Waitambu children were called mice; if any one was called child the Two Ladies came and killed it.

They still appear where the road goes through the taro fields. They appear to this day to young men as young and beautiful girls, to old men as old women. Luke of Rakuta, the grandson of a priest, sometimes hears them laugh and talk. They also appear embodied, one in a pigeon, the other in a duck, or both as pigeons or both as ducks. They are known by their being always in pairs. If any one is ill and they both appear he will not recover. Melaia says their ships are a black and a white crane; which is why the women out fishing when they see a crane cry out, "Hullo! the black bird" (*Vekaveka, a manu uli*), for *uli* in Tongan means black.

The spirit of Nggawaleka is called Ulupoko. It is a head without a body. It rolls about. He lives on a hillock and rolls into the village and makes a thundering noise as he comes. He is embodied in a white dog, as white as a tropical suit, and the tail stands in the middle of its back.

The connection of Waitambu with Mango is accounted for thus: It is said that if the Two Ladies dig taro fields in Mango the muddiness will reach unto Waitambu, to Rakuta, for the water goes underground and comes up in Waitambu with roots of the grass dug up. Even so if they dig taro fields in Waitambu the muddiness will reach right away to Mango. For there is one Holy Spring in Lakemba, and one in Mango, thus: Lakemban Waitambu and Mangoan Waitambu.

Vakano and Waitambu are *tauvu* to one another because of two stones.

A woman of Waitambu, a *tupua*, or ancestor goddess, met the *vu*, or ancestor god, of Vakano on the path between the two villages. She desired him, so they lay down and slept together. At dawn they turned into stone. The two rocks are still to be seen, one on the top of the other in Natuiniika, a gully near Waitambu. The rocks are known as Vatuveivavai or Pick-a-Back Rocks. Others make it a man of Waitambu and a woman of Vakano.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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823 on their side of the island, but the people of Ndaku bring them palolo in exchange for which the people of Nggalivanua have to give much. To prevent palolo being brought they hit the stone and a heavy sea ensues. There is also a heavy sea if a man of Raviravi walks on that beach, for they hate Raviravi people. One clan of landspeople in Levukaindaku are the gods (*tui*) or priests (*mbete*) of the stones: they cut leaves of any kind and lay them on the stones. In Christian times these stones were objected to so strongly that the people took them out to sea in two canoes and dumped them overboard, and returned to the land, but a big sea came which carried the stones back to their place and dashed the canoes to pieces on them.

776 There is a story of a *tevoro*, half man half spirit, who came over from Kandavu sailing in a pot. He set up his pot as a house on a hill and proceeded to eat up the inhabitants. His teeth were tied with a string to strengthen them. He was torn to pieces by the dog of a boy called Lasawalevu whom he tried to eat.

823 There is a place called Navatuloa which is also known as Matukundua (Matuku-once), because if a foreigner sets foot there he will go home and die. The people of old did not practice witchcraft; they simply took remnants of food and put them in Navatuloa.

ANIMAL TALES

538 There are a number of animal tales. They are referred to as "the Animal Tribe" (*ko ira a yavusa manumanu*). In these tales the names of the animals always appear with the polite prefix *ra* (sir), as Ra Vonu, "Sir Turtle."

The tale of Sir Turtle and Sir Monitor (*vokai*) is well known all over Fiji:

539 There was a turtle and a monitor. This animal, the monitor, and this fish, the turtle, have different homes: the home of the turtle is in the sea; the monitor's home is the dry land. One day the monitor was going down to the beach as the turtle was coming ashore. They met in a very nice spot. They had no sooner met when they both together saw a conch. When they saw this conch they agreed to walk as far as the place where lay the conch. As they were walking they talked together and each related the nature of his country. As they were discoursing, their discourse took a bad turn owing to some words used by the turtle to the monitor, saying, "You hill people, you are always eating vegetables; we sea-folk, we eat shell-fish, eat sea-weed and fish." Thereat the monitor was angry and proposed they should have a tug-of-war with the conch; he that got it, at the time of his death the conch should be blown that people might know Sir Turtle or Sir Monitor is dead. The turtle agreed. In tugging Sir Monitor clutched the lip of the conch with his claws, making those black stripes that are still to be seen. Sir Turtle inserted his penis deep on the other side which, since then, is streaked like a turtle's penis. Sir Turtle won. So the turtle carried off the conch to sea, and that is why the conch is blown when Sir Turtle dies.

Sir Rat and Sir Bat: Sir Rat had wings while Sir Bat went about with a staff. One day Sir Bat managed to steal Sir Rat's wings; Sir Rat seized the staff, which is now his tail.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929

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643 then when Ndranivia usurped he seized the state-basket in which were the treasures of the land.

The title Sau occurs in the expression *sautu*, peace, prosperity.

MEDICINE

753 171 The group of diseases called by names of animals are the most transparent. The same diseases, octopus and snake, are found in Eddystone, Solomon Islands; there the animal is a spirit that abides in the person and causes the trouble. In Samoa if a man ate the incarnation of his own particular god, that god "was supposed to avenge the insult by taking up his abode in that person's body and causing to generate there the very thing he had eaten" (15, p. 17).

753 262 In Lau, the octopus disease may be contracted by eating octopus, and the patient is not allowed to eat octopus. However the Lauans may deny it then, it can be confidently asserted that the food tapu to a patient is called "the spirit of the cure," because the spirit which causes and cures the disease abides in it, and therefore it may not be eaten. Samoa has preserved the theory; Lau has lost it.

757 754 177 In Lau, most cures exist apart from the art of producing them; but it was held that those who knew how to cure the effects of witchcraft also knew how to kill. That reverts to a state of things found in Eddystone of the Solomon Islands, where every cure is part of a system consisting of: (a) charm to produce the disease in whomever steals the fruit of a tree; (b) removal of that charm; (c) cure of the disease. It appears to have been much the same of old in Lau, since Semi says that then they had charms in every grove of coconut palms. But whereas in Lau the charms were buried, in Eddystone they are hung on trees or sticks, as was done in Tonga.

TRIBAL ANIMAL

776 Thekena, Waitambu, and Vakano call their children rats. Thekena and Waitambu say it is because of the jealousy of the Two Ladies who will not allow any but their own children to be called children; but the Vakano people are nearer the truth when they say it is by reason of their rat-god. It would seem then as if these people formerly identified themselves with their god.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6 Kambara

tion, came to southern Lau from northeast Viti Levu (p. 38). Most clans in this phratry trace their pedigrees nine to twelve generations directly to Ndaunisai (table 2, following p. 32). The group is believed to have descended from a common mythical ancestor, Ndengei, the great snake god of Viti Levu. Ndengei is believed to be the forefather of Ndaunisai.

Members of the chiefs' phratry are considered to be taller, fairer skinned, less frizzly haired and finer featured, in short more Polynesian in racial type, than the members of the land phratry.

The chiefs' phratry holds the highest rank in Lau. It constitutes the Lauan nobility, and its members together with those of the carpenter phratries and the sea people form the upper class, as opposed to the land people or lower class. Members of the chiefs' phratry are interested in etiquette and chiefly ceremonial. They have graceful manners and a dignified bearing. They are poor gardeners and dislike working on the land, but they are expert sailors and fishermen and were formerly great warriors.

The village of Tumbou, Lakemba, is the center of the nobility of Lau. According to the genealogies, clans belonging definitely to the chiefs' phratry are found in southern Lau only in the village of Nasau on Mothe and in the villages of Nggalinggali and Tokalau on Kambara. No village is composed entirely of clans belonging to the upper class.

The chiefs' carpenters

Ancestors of the chiefs' carpenter phratry (*matai sau*), according to Fijian lore, migrated from northeast Viti Levu to southern Lau before the Ndaunisai movement. They came in search of the greenheart. The group claims Rokola, the god of carpenters, as their forefather.

According to the clan genealogies, the chiefs' carpenter group first established itself on Kambara where it founded the Saumua clan of Undu. The people of Kambara say that the Saumua clan provided the carpenters for the chiefs of Kambara before the coming of the *lemaki* carpenters.

According to the genealogies, the chiefs' carpenters spread from Kambara to Namuka and Fulanga. Seven generations ago Matakali of the Saumua clan, Undu, founded a chiefs' carpenter line in Fulanga which is now a part of the Nggalitoka clan. A chiefs' carpenter line in Fulanga, belonging to the Nasava clan, Muanaithake, also traces its ancestry back seven generations to Matakali of Saumua. As Matakali does not appear in the pedigree of the Undu group, which extends back only six generations, this information cannot be checked. The headman of these three clans (Saumua, Nggalitoka, and Nasava) hold the hereditary clan title of *matai sau*, a ranking island title. Every male in these groups is trained to be a carpenter. These were the only chiefs' carpenters found on the islands visited.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

The land people believed not only in a local origin but also in a local abode of the dead (p. 116).

The natives say each hamlet of the land people had its own spiritual beings (*kalou vu*). The names of most of the hamlet gods have been lost, but the following information regarding them was obtained. When the hamlets consolidated into villages these gods became clan gods.

The hamlet god of Matasoata, Undu, was Tutumatua. He was never a man and he is now called a devil (*tevoro*). His sacred place was Nggara Loka, about 50 meters south of Undu at the base of the cliff.

The hamlet gods of Tonganiuthi, Undu, were two females called Iri Mbuli; they were spirits, not ghosts. Their god house was called Tonganiuthi.

The hamlet god of Nanggara, which was formerly associated with the Undu group but moved to the Nggalinggali group after the arrival of the immigrants, was Mberawalaki. He was never a man. Mberawalaki is called the forefather of Kambara, and Nanggara is the ranking clan of the land group on Kambara. Later Tapaso became the god of Nanggara. Tapaso came from Tonga and seems to have been a ghost.

Tonga of Undu tells the following tale about Tapaso:

A child was born into the Nanggara clan while the clan was living in a banana grove. The bananas were ripe, but the clan did not take the first fruits to the god. Instead they kept them for the birth feast of the child. Tapaso knew what they had done and said the child must die, and the child did die. The clan knew that the child had died because the people had not presented the first fruits to the god. The breadfruit was also ripe and the members of the clan met in a house to discuss the breadfruit. They did not want to take the first breadfruit to the god, so they cut only the lower ends of the fruit and gave them to him. Tapaso, however, knew that the first fruits of the breadfruit had not been brought to him. Some of the clan men decided to go sailing. Tapaso knew this also. He entered a shark, went to sea, and took one leg from each sailor because of their failure to bring him the breadfruit. The men on land knew that Tapaso was angry. They went to the god house and beat the priest, striking him on the head until blood flowed. The priest left the god house and went to the shore. When blood covered his eyes he bathed in the sea. The place in the lagoon where he bathed is now deep although it is near the shore. He came to another place and bathed again because blood covered his eyes. This place is also deep. He continued his journey, reached the village of Lomatchi and bathed again. Then he went to the bush, leaned against a tree and talked to himself. This place is called Numbaravi (Leaning Against a Tree). Then he went to the god house.

Another tale about Tapaso, recorded on Kambara, follows:

One day when Tapaso was very hungry he saw a mother carrying a child. He sang: "Sumolu a thava so ka vei kau yaki tou? Tawa kau mai mei, Sumolu" (What are you carrying there? Fix it for me, Sumolu). The child was given to him and he ate it.

On Fulanga the hamlet god of Nasava (formerly associated with Muanaira, now with the Muanaithake group) was Ronggoua or Ronggoniua. His sacred place was a god house called *mbure ni kalou Nasava*.

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776 The hamlet god of Nggilo (Muanaira group) was Mainggilo.

All the hamlet gods mentioned above, except Tapaso, god of Nanggara, recently introduced from Tonga, are spirits which have never lived on earth, rather than ghosts. Besides Nanggara, at least two ranking clans of the land group have ghosts rather than spirits as gods. These are Kamali (p. 111) of Mothe and Vunikoro (p. 111) of Fulanga. It is probable that through contact with the immigrants recently introduced ancestor gods have superseded the old spiritual beings of these groups. Whether all the gods of the early inhabitants were spirits is not known. It is probable, however, that the land people like many Melanesian groups, emphasized the worship of spirits rather than ghosts, while the immigrants, with their highly developed, Polynesian-like ancestor cult, worshipped ghosts almost exclusively.

778 [782] In times of trouble such as a drought or hurricane the land people worshipped at sacred places (*na sava*) such as sacred caves (*nggara kalou*), sacred stones, and sacred trees, such as the *ngingia* on Kambara. I found no evidence of the presence of god houses (*mbure kalou*, p. 112) before the advent of the chiefs' group.

The main sacred cave of the Kambara land group is the Nggara Kalou (Cave of the God), located in the bush near Undu. In the cave are conch shells sacred to the *kalou*, god of the land people. Concerning the *kalou*, Moto of Undu stated:

> The highest spiritual being of the land people was the *kalou*. He was the source of all mana and as such was worshipped by the land people. Mana was the *kalou* expressed. He was not confined to any one place. He moved about like a mist in the jungle or over the sea. He could not be touched because he had no body. He had never lived on earth nor had human form. He could be contacted most easily in Nggara Kalou (Cave of the Spirit), located near Undu in the bush. The soul (*yalo*) of the *kalou* entered the conch shells in Nggara Kalou. The priest (*mbete*) was the intermediary for the people and the *kalou* and he alone entered the Nggara Kalou. There he prayed for mana and presented offerings received from the people.

Moto's statement may be colored by Christian teachings.

Another sacred cave of the Kambara land group is called Nggara ni Tambua (literally, Cave of the Whale's Tooth). It is located in the bush between Undu and Lomatchi. Informants say that only two men now living have entered it. Its god is said to be nameless, but one of his titles is Tambua Levu. Informants say that Nggara ni Tambua is a title belonging to the island of Kambara. They explain that the whale's tooth represents wealth in Lau and before the introduction of manioc, sweet potato, and other cultivated plants, Kambara was a "cave of wealth" because her timber and fruit trees made her rich in natural resources.

There is a sacred cave on Fulanga called Ndromo ni Tambua. It belongs to the Vandravandra clan.

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circumcision, ordeals, dancing, license, and distribution of wealth. In 1884 the Nanga ceremonies were no longer performed.

Moto's is the only known evidence of the occurrence of the Nanga outside the area mapped by Fison. No stone enclosures such as those described by Fison were found in Lau. (For further information concerning the Nanga see Brewster, 1, pp. 93-95.)

Luve ni Wai

The Luve ni Wai (Offspring of the Water) is a secret cult found in many parts of Fiji. (See Brewster, 1, pp. 89, 222-225; Williams, 27, vol. 1, pp. 237-239.) It is one medium by which individuals, disgruntled at the new social order, can gain social prestige in the community. The colonial government has attempted to suppress the cult, hence the natives usually deny knowledge of it. One form of the cult is practiced today in southern Lau. A few informants gave the following account of it.

> The cult consists of a few young men, each of whom has demonstrated his ability to procure and hold a personal guardian god who supplies him with mana. The mana is expressed in the form of a special gift, such as the ability to create new dance forms or medicines, to predict the future, interpret the past, or discover new members for the cult. The guardian gods called *luve ni wai* are usually the ghosts of departed ancestors, not spirits, and are today called "devils."

Some informants say they dwell in and near the water, others say they live on land, in water, stars, sky, in fish and trees. Ndengei, Tutumatua, Ndauthina, Ndakuwangga, Rayawa, and Vuthurongayau are important *luve ni wai*.

The following tale is told about Ndakuwangga, the shark god, who became a *luve ni wai*:

> Ndaunisai was the father of Wangganouanoua, who came with Ndaunisai from Viti Levu to Kambara. Wangganouanoua went to Mbenau Island at Taveuni. When the people of the island were hauling a canoe from the shore to the water, Wangganouanoua hid in a hollow tree trunk because he wanted to show the people he was a god. While the god was in the tree trunk, it was used as a roller for the canoe. When Wangganouanoua went aboard the canoe and told the men he had been inside the hollow trunk, they called him Ndakuwangga. He entered a shark. The people began to pray to this god of the shark and called it *luve ni wai* because it was from the water. Since then the shark had been tabu to the Taveuni people. The Kambara people do not eat the shark because the father of this *luve ni wai* came to Kambara.

According to informants, Luve ni Wai rites are carried on secretly in the bush at night. The leader and the members of the cult oil their bodies and dress in ceremonial tapa and wreaths. They take kava to the bush, sit in a kava circle, and prepare the drink ceremonially. The first cup is poured on the ground as an offering to the gods. The leader drinks first. The men call the gods by means of prayers. When the gods come, each enters and possesses his votary. While possessed, the men are insensitive to physical pain. They jump, dance, and club one another.

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575 jump, dance, and club one another. While in this state they receive mana in the form of inspiration from their guardians.

Each member is a specialist in some skill and has a guardian of his own whose name he bears. A creator of a new dance form receives them from the god of the dance (*meke*); a medicine man receives new medicines from the god of medicine. The membership of the cult is controlled by a god named Rayawa. When propitiated with kava, Rayawa reveals the names of new members. The man who discovers new members for the cult has Rayawa for his god.

[776 782]

The leader of the cult on each island is called the originator of the bamboo (*vuninduvu*), for, as the oldest bamboo is surrounded by many shoots, so the leader is surrounded by many members. He has the strongest guardian and the most mana. Every new member must make a ceremonial offering of kava to the leader. If the leader is challenged, a contest is arranged during the Luve ni Wai rites and the member who is least vulnerable, and therefore has the most powerful god, wins and takes the leadership.

[782] Native informants say that a Luve ni Wai member occasionally propitiates his guardian by leaving a bowl of kava in the bush. When he returns, not the next day perhaps but certainly after a few days, the kava has disappeared from the bowl.

575 195 538 Informants say that in olden days Luve ni Wai members had their own idiom which could not be understood by the people. These old *meke* (chants) are difficult to translate, but, when one examines them one sees that poetic license and figures of speech rather than actual vocabulary differences set them apart from modern *meke*. However, many words which appear in the old *meke* cannot be translated by the natives today. The old Luve ni Wai *meke* are lyric poetry, highly subjective, in contrast to the more recent ones, which are definitely realistic.

575 539 The following *meke*, which are not understood by present natives, are said to be in Luve ni Wai idiom:

Nai wau (club dance) chanted by Tatchini of Kambara

(Drum beats—small *lali ni meke* type)

Na vatu manawa, na vua i rama	The floating stones, the fruits of light
Yau talatala, vakaselotaki mana wangga	The murmuring breeze, welcoming the wonderful canoes
Tambu wangga ko ira na kai Mathuata,	Chiefly canoes, they are the people of Mathuata,
Laki kele sara i matamatana.	About to anchor at the mouth of the passage.

(Drum beats)

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CHAPTER I

A HAZARDOUS WORLD

KAMBARA, A FAMINE ISLE

A mate na rawarawa 539
Me mbula—na ka ni thava?
A mate na thenggu.

Death is easy.
Of what use is life?
To die is rest.

Fijian proverb.

SILHOUETTED against the sky, Kambara presents the 133
long, low outline of a basin-shaped limestone island, about 4½ miles long by 3½ miles wide. It is broken at the north-west by a volcanic hill. From the summit of this hill, one sees a world of sky, sea and forest. Below lies the dark green ghoulish jungle, stretching to the edge of the island. It is encircled by a turquoise lagoon, which is framed with a pink and purple coral reef fringed by dazzling white surf. Beyond lies the deep blue sea.

Here and there along the shore are sandy flats covered with 133
coconut groves and brush, and on these flats are situated four 361
villages: Tokalau, Lomatchi, Undu and Tanggu (officially [311]
designated Nggalinggali). Tokalau and Lomatchi, half-a-mile apart on the west side of the island, communicate easily along the beach on foot, as do Tanggu and Undu, a mile apart on the east side. Contact is more difficult between the two sides of the island, separated by the rough and thickly forested limestone basin. It can be effected through the bush on two [487]
rough narrow trails, or around the island by canoe, and also at low tide on foot. The two sides of the island are separated not only by physical barriers but also by invisible ones, for [776]
the jungle and lagoon are peopled with spirits, frequently hostile and malicious.

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133 the jungle and lagoon are peopled with spirits, frequently
361 hostile and malicious. Hence the two pairs of villages are isolated from each other. In the past they were frequently at war. Tokalau has long been the ranking village on the
621 west side and Tanggu ranking on the east. Today their
178 antagonism is expressed in frequent quarrels and rivalry for
578 wealth and social prestige. These villages are not old. They are composed of aggregations of hamlets formerly located
[712] inland and protected by hill fortresses. In the middle of the nineteenth century, when the elimination of warfare due to the introduction of Christianity made protection unnecessary, several adjacent hamlets formed a village which retained the traditional jealousies and feuds of its constituents.

131 On a clear day seventeen islands are visible from the highest
133 point on Kambara, 470 feet above the sea. One can even
823 discern the reef of uninhabited Wangava, home of the spirits
776 of illness, about three miles to the northeast. Wangava is a limestone island, rich in timber, turtles, shellfish, and garden land. It belongs to the village of Tanggu on Kambara. To the southeast, about seven miles away, is the little uninhabited island of Marambo, home of the "windwomen", twin spirits who assume the form of beautiful maidens to disturb men in their sleep. Marambo was formed when the devil dropped the hearth stone from his canoe through the opening for the steering paddle. Here the men of Undu plant gardens and fish for lobster. And away to the northwest, a speck on the
131 horizon, is another Kambaran possession—the tiny uninhabited
133 island of Tavunasithi, owned by Tokalau. The nearest inhabited islands are Kambara's fertile colonies to the northwest,[1] Namuka of limestone and Komo of volcanic formation. The
[648] people of Kambara apparently acquired these islands by destroying the early inhabitants in warfare. According to the
[173] genealogies, Namuka was settled by colonists from the east side of Kambara, and Komo by colonists from the west side. Komo lies on the canoe route from Kambara to the large

[1] [Northeast according to map on page xxvi, category 116.—Analyst]

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867 157 expressed in sullenness and fits of anger in adult life, and the subterfuge develops into a cultivated cunningness greatly admired by the natives.

857 Young children spend much time in the company of their brothers and sisters and of other children in the same age group. When together they are noisy, in contrast to their subdued behavior in the presence of adults. Younger brothers and sisters defer to older and especially to the first born. Older brothers take advantage of their position and make the younger ones run errands. Brothers, sisters, and cousins all play together until they are seven or eight years old.

868 857 524 Children play in the village or on the beach. They have no fear of the water, and learn to dog paddle and look out for sharks soon after their first sea bath at the age of one year. Their favorite water sport is playing with toy canoes made of coconut husks with a sail of a large leaf. Each toy boat has a name. The children talk to their canoes and frequently they have canoe races at low tide. As they grow older the boys take small three-pointed spears, and in twos and threes stand on the shore and spear little fish in the coral pockets or the breaking surf. Little girls, on the other hand, learn to dive for shellfish. From infancy children have a familiarity with the sea which they carry into adulthood. When Kambarans drown, it is not usually from inability to [776] keep afloat, but from fear of the shark god which is sacred to the island. Children often amuse themselves by drawing crude pictures in the sand with a stick, or by running races on the beach. They also play hop-scotch, jump rope, and marbles.

868 534 From infancy the child is accustomed to hear and feel the rhythmic harsh chant-singing which is Lauan music. Soon he begins to imitate the expressions of his elders and to learn to sing and dance himself. Little boys often play on the large slit wooden gongs, and soon are able to play the second gong in complicated duets with older boys.

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CHAPTER V

HOW A FIJIAN SEES THE WORLD

WHERE GHOSTS HOLD SWAY

Mana! E....ntchina! A....munduo....A..
..munduo!

Mana, may it be true, may it be effective!

End of a Lauan prayer.

THE LAUANS still live in a world of magic peopled by ghosts, spirits, and the disembodied souls of the living, for the Christian cosmogony, introduced by the missionaries, had a place for local gods. Even today these superhuman beings are just as real as human beings, and play as important a rôle in their lives. They appear at any time of day or night, frequently in human form, but also in plants, fish, or birds. Some are friendly and aid them in their struggle for success in life, but many are hostile and greatly feared.

The Lauans believe that each individual has two souls, one good and one bad. The bad soul occasionally separates itself from the body of a person (who remains unaware of its absence) and wanders about playing tricks on unsuspecting human victims. Such a bad soul appears in the physical form of the person to whom it belongs, so that the victim mistakes the bad soul for its owner. The bad soul then lures him into danger, and at times death, and can be discovered only by its ability to vanish into air.

One afternoon our native boy, Ravu, went into the jungle to shoot wild pigeons for the evening meal. Although wild fowl are plentiful on Kambara, they are difficult to shoot because they perch in the high tree tops where the fruit grows. Moreover, the floor of the limestone basin is full of pits and so rough that it cuts even the natives' tough feet, calloused as they are

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It reinforced the desire for prestige, based on rank, success in warfare and wealth, which gave the culture its definite secular bias. These ancestor gods are still feared by many old Lauans today.

The ancestor gods were worshipped in temples—small thatched huts with disproportionately high gabled roofs and oval shaped ground plan. The temples were elevated on stone-flanked mounds surrounded by fragrant plants, for fragrance was associated with sacredness in the minds of the natives. In them were kept sacred objects belonging to the clan, such as elaborately carved ceremonial clubs. A hereditary priest officiated at each temple. He propitiated the gods with offerings such as food, kava, whales' teeth, and human sacrifices, especially the bodies of enemies captured in warfare. All that remain today of these temples are the stone-flanked mounds on which offerings are occasionally made secretly.

Most of the gods of the upper class were war gods. Before a raid the priest consulted the war gods regarding the auspiciousness of an attack, and prayed that "mana" be granted the clan warriors and their weapons. Without the approval of the gods the raid would not be successful. If the god responded, the priest's body began to twitch and shake. As the god entered his body the priest writhed in grotesque contortions. He was bathed in sweat. The movements became more and more violent until finally in a queer shrill voice the god spoke through the priest.

Williams gives the following account of this spirit possession. "One who intends to consult the oracle dresses and oils himself and, accompanied by a few others, goes to the priest . . . When the party enters, he (the priest) rises, and sits so that his back is near to the white cloth by which the god visits him, while the others occupy the opposite side of the *mbure* (temple). The principal person presents a whale's tooth, states the purpose of the visit, and expresses a hope that the god will regard him with favor. Sometimes there is placed

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before the priest a dish of scented oil, with which he anoints himself, and then receives the tooth, regarding it with deep and serious attention. Unbroken silence follows. The priest becomes absorbed in thought, and all eyes watch him with unblinking steadiness. In a few minutes he trembles; slight distortions are seen in his face, and twitching movements in his limbs. These increase to a violent muscular action, which spreads until the whole frame is strongly convulsed, and the man shivers as with a strong ague fit. In some instances this is accompanied with murmurs and sobs, and veins are greatly enlarged, and the circulation of the blood quickened. The priest is now possessed by his god, and all his words and actions are considered as no longer his own, but those of the deity who has entered into him. Shrill cries of *'Koi au! Koi au!'* (It is I! It is I!) fill the air, and the god is supposed thus to notify his approach. While giving the answer the priest's eyes stand out and roll as in a frenzy; his voice is unnatural, his face pale, his lips livid, his breathing depressed, and his entire appearance like that of a furious madman. The sweat runs from every pore, and tears start from his strained eyes; after which the symptoms gradually disappear . . ."[47]

The success of the clan in warfare, its strength, man power, and wealth were derived from the "mana" of its ancestral gods. This clan "mana" was concentrated in the clan "old head" (that is, the first born direct male descendant of the first son of the founder). The high chief of Lau has the most "mana" of any living person. Theoretically the direct descendant of the highest ancestral god, he is considered to be the most sacred living being.

The ancestral gods formed a sort of celestial hierarchy which was reflected in the system of ranked clans in Lauan society. Ndengei (pronounced En-deng-ē'), the great snake god of Viti Levu and mythical originator of the upper class in Lau, stood at the top of the set-up. Tradition says that many generations

[47] Williams and Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 224-225.

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769 ago, Ndengei, who was then a man, and his companions
776 landed at Vunda on the west coast of Viti Levu after a long
618 sea voyage. The group moved along the coast and finally settled on the Nakauvandra range in the northern interior. From here the descendants of Ndengei moved into most of eastern Fiji. The migration into southern Lau was led by Ndaunisai (pronounced En-daú-ni-sai), a descendant of Ndengei. Ndaunisai founded the upper class in Lau, and today he ranks next to Ndengei among the heavenly hosts. Then come other forefathers of the noble class according to rank.

769 The ancestral gods of each clan were incarnated in a species
618 of tree, a species of fish, and a species of bird. It was tabu for clan members to eat or harm them and this tabu is upheld by some Lauans today. There is no evidence that the gods in Lau were represented by carved wooden or stone images.

565 The lower class in Lau participated in the outer form of the
769 ancestor cult but never accepted its inner content. Although
618 each clan had its gods, temples, and priests, the clan gods of
776 the lower class apparently consisted of spirits who had never lived on earth, rather than ghosts of departed ancestors, and they did not appear in the celestial hierarchy of gods. Just as the commoners maintained their clan divisions, so they retained also their clan deities in spite of the influence of the nobles.

565 The commoners of each island formerly believed in their
773 local origin from some natural phenomenon such as a tree or an animal which was a totem. There are no other stories of their origin and no migration tales concerning them. The lower class of Kambara, for example, believed in its local
[824] origin from a *ngingia* (pronounced ngi-ngí-a) tree (*Suriana maritima*) located near the beach north of Undu. The tree is still sacred to the commoners. In times of trouble, offerings of kava and food are still made at the base of this tree, which is kept free of underbrush. The red shark is the incarnation of the god of the Kambara commoners. It is the guardian of the lower class of Kambara, and no commoner even today

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tions throughout the native culture. It led to the development of other outlets for the acquisition of prestige, such as the distribution of wealth and the emphasis on craftsmanship. However, part of the tremendous energy formerly devoted to this most vital group activity was suppressed and as a result native life was devitalized.

The effect of Christianity upon the native spiritual world has been profound. Lowering the old ancestor gods to the status of devils, and raising the Christian Deity to omnipotence has caused a deep conflict of loyalties in the minds of the natives. Even today they feel guilty because they are neglecting their old gods, and they say this neglect is responsible for their present lack of vitality which they characterize as an absence of "mana". Although a few courageous individuals still propitiate their ancestors secretly in the bush, the old religion has been effectively suppressed. Moreover, most of the Fijian mythology, theology, and folklore has been lost.

In spite of the apparent success of the mission, its spiritual message failed to a considerable extent to reach the natives because they were totally unprepared by their outlook on life to comprehend it. Gradually, as the Lauans have adapted western ideas to their own, Christian ceremonial has mingled with native rites. The gospel taught by the missionaries has tended to become a formality marked by a feast every seventh day and important mainly for its social value. The new religion has become a channel for acquiring social prestige. To be a good Christian today gives an individual standing in the community and a native missionary wields considerable power.

Malamala, the native missionary on Kambara, is a native of a noble clan of Tanggu. On account of his office, however, he does not live in Tanggu, but has moved into a large house opposite the mission church in Tokalau. His sacerdotal office and his rank in the upper class make him one of the leading elders of the island, and he is careful to assume great dignity

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new channels for self-expression in medicine, in sorcery, and in secret cults such as the "Water Babies" (*Luveniwai*, literally meaning "offspring of the water").

The "Water Babies" is a colorful secret society found in parts of Fiji. It is forbidden by the government and hence most natives deny knowledge of it. The cult is not very active in southern Lau and my impression was that most natives know very little about it. It was months before anyone would discuss it with me and I did not witness any of the secret rites. I was told, however, that the cult has a few members on some of the southern islands.

To become a member of the "Water Babies" a man must have a personal guardian spirit called a water baby, which dwells in the water or in the forest. This spirit supplies him with "mana" in the form of a special talent, such as the ability to create new dances or medicines, to predict the future, or to discover new members for the cult. To obtain a guardian spirit a man goes to the bush secretly, prepares a bowl of kava and prays to the spirits. If he is successful, one of the spirits responds by entering his body and he gains special abilities. Many young men admitted that they had tried in vain to secure a guardian spirit. Only a few individuals are favored by a response from the spirit world. The ones reputed to have guardian spirits were all restless, slightly maladjusted, and frequently gifted young men. They had apparently grown dissatisfied with the monotony of modern life and were seeking superhuman outlets for their energies.

The members of the cult propitiate their guardian spirits in the bush at night. Fantastic accounts are given of these secret rites. The votaries oil their bodies and dress in ceremonial barkcloth. They sit in a kava circle and one of them prepares kava ceremonially. The first cup of kava is poured on the ground as an offering to the spirits. The men drink the remainder of the kava and call upon their spirits with prayers and songs. Finally the spirits respond and as each

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575 enters his votary the men begin to shake and tremble violently.
776 Their flesh twitches. They begin to dance and work them-
782 selves up into a frenzy. Some club one another. In this state they are insensible to pain. Men are frequently injured and were in the past occasionally killed during these rites. While possessed they receive "mana" from their guardian spirits in the form of inspiration, each along the lines of his own specialty.

[774] The member with the most "mana" on each island is the leader of the cult. If he is challenged, a contest is held during the rites and the least vulnerable wins and takes over the leadership.

The "Water Baby" cult found its way into southern Lau from Fiji proper. Mr. Brewster, who spent forty years as a government official in Fiji, has described the cult as it appeared in the interior of Viti Levu where it was strong at the end of the nineteenth century and still practiced in the 1920's.[49]

797 The early missionaries ignored the cult. Compared to more
575 violent practices which they had to combat, such as cannibalism, widow strangling, and human sacrifice, it seemed relatively harmless except that it encouraged laziness and frequently led to bloodshed. However, when the mission had become well established in Fiji they demanded its suppression. The colonial government followed mission policy and made the practice criminal.

Mr. Brewster's comments on government policy concerning the cult are interesting. He wrote: ". . . looking down that long vista of years and after much reflection, I think that we took a wrong view of the *luveniwai*. There was no need to regard it so seriously, as in my opinion it was not really seditious. It led the boys to be cheeky and insubordinate, and to a certain amount of larceny . . . There were plenty of native regulations against insubordination, disobedience and any sort of disturbance. We did not need anything special

[49] A. B. Brewster, op. cit., pp. 222-229.

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A sick person usually goes first to a diagnostician, who makes an examination by tapping the body and inserting a finger into the mouth, anus, or vagina. The diagnostician tells the patient which specialist knows medicines to treat his particular type of malady.

According to the native ideology, mental illness (called *lialia*) is caused by an evil spirit which has gained possession of the body and mind. The patient shows symptoms of mental disturbance and accompanying physical disability. He loses touch with reality and becomes absorbed in the spirit world. The natives say that such cases are most common among young, unmarried people, but are found among natives of all ages.

Men are usually possessed by twin evil spirits called the "windwomen" (*lewa matangi*). The names of the "windwomen" on Namuka are "Good Desire" and "Bad Desire". Their abode is the uninhabited isle of Marambo, and it is dangerous for men to go there lest they become possessed. The "windwomen" disturb a man in sleep by assuming the forms of alluring young women, usually a particular woman whom the man desires. She offers him tempting food, but if he eats this food he will sicken and perhaps die. Just as the "eating together" ceremony is symbolical of consummation in marriage, the eating of this food is apparently symbolical of sexual union and the man believes he has connection with the woman. Occasionally a patient believes he has become pregnant by such a spirit and his belly and breasts begin to swell. When this happens the natives say the man will die in a short time if he is not cured.

The cure of a case of spirit possession is accomplished by a method curiously similar to that used in psychoanalysis. The Lauan theory is that the doctor must draw a confession of the name of the spirit from the patient in order to release the spirit from his body. The doctor sees the patient every day, tries to allay his fears, encourages him, talks to him

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755 him food such as pork and sweet pudding which he ate. He
753 was treated according to the method described above and the spirits were discovered in his eyes. They flew away and he recovered.

[776] Women are usually possessed by an evil spirit called Tutumatua. He is really an old man with elephantiasis of the leg, but frequently he assumes the form of an attractive young man in order to win a woman he desires.

[824] A giant taro plant (called *via,* probably *Alocasia indica*) grew just outside the door of my house in Tokalau. The
[751] natives said that this had been planted to keep out Tutumatua, who had been troubling the young woman formerly living in the house. When Tutumatua, bent on mischief, would start to enter the house, the giant knobby tuber would remind him of his hideous swollen leg and he would be so ashamed that he would pass by. I can vouch for the effectiveness of this measure, at least during the length of my occupancy.[58]

753 The missionary, Williams, recounts a similar case of spirit possession. He writes: "A heathen woman complained of being subject to the solicitations of some god, who was always standing near to entice her to him. Her husband appealed to me to drive away the god or his wife's delusion. The Rev. John Hunt was staying with me at the time and we went together to the dwelling of the woman, he armed with a large dose of Epsom salts, and I with a bottle of spirits of hartshorn. On our arrival we found the house filled with people, and the woman on her back in the midst, shouting lustily, 'Let me alone, that I may return!' The excitement was very great, but the shouting was considerably checked by the sudden application of hartshorn to her nose. When a light was brought we discovered that our patient was by no means a Venus, which led Mr. Hunt to observe, with dry gravity, 'Truly she is a beauty: what a fancy the god must have who can desire

[171] [58] Both Tutumatua and the "windwomen" are found under various names widespread in Polynesia and other parts of the Pacific.

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Lau, just eighty years ago, were strictly forbidden, perhaps wisely in those early days, to talk about anything at all connected with their old mythology. So that as children they did not hear from their mothers the old tales that even one generation before would have been so freely told to them.

However, in those islands where no resident missionary was stationed, the rule was not so strictly enforced, and it is there that I have been able to collect some of the most interesting stories.

Stories of the gods are ethnologically the most fascinating of all, especially among a totemistic people; and the Polynesians in a general sense were ancestor-worshippers, and held sacred certain beasts, birds, and fishes, wherein dwelt their gods; although they never set up special idols to them, as the Papuan race seems to have done. The value of an old legend—when established and corroborated—for purposes of ethnological investigation is immense, but on the other hand there is always the danger that an imperfect legend may lead one very much astray by setting one's feet upon a track which proves false, and only takes one farther away the more one pursues it. An amusing instance of this occurred not long ago. I was investigating the old snake legend of Vulaga Island (an island, incidentally, on which no snakes are ever found). A man told

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THE DEMONS OF TUVANA ISLAND.

*539 "He awoke to the sound of voices, and thought
● 776 that the people had returned, for it was now dark and he could not see their faces. He called out, and asked them why they had done this thing to him. But only a mocking laugh greeted him, and he heard more clearly the talk, and it was in a strange tongue. Then Tui Liku was greatly afraid and edged nearer to the wall of the house, hiding his face. Thereupon one spoke to him: 'Tui Liku, Tui Liku?' 'It is I, sir,' he replied, in a frightened whisper.

"'We have come for you,' said the voice; and thereupon he felt himself clutched by unseen hands in the dark and dragged outside, where there was a new moon just rising. Then he became very troubled indeed, for he knew that they were the demons of Tuvana; and their leader—whose name I do not know—but who was a little humpbacked man (*Daku-pusi*, 'pussy-cat's backs,' we call them), snatched him up with terrible strength, and, laughing, threw him to one of the others. And this one threw him up in the air and caught him again, and then others came up, and so threw him up and down, as the children play with the *dawa* fruit, all through the night, tossing him from one to the other till he was nearly dead. And as morning

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came, the leader said to him, 'We will not quite kill you now. Go back, Tui Liku, and sleep well to-day, for we will fetch you again to-night.'

"Whereupon they all fled, and Tui Liku crawled back wearily to the house at Butoni. Now he was sorely troubled in his mind about this thing; but after sleeping for a while he woke up feeling a little easier, and after he had eaten he thought of a plan to hinder their will. For Tui Liku was a wise and cunning man, sir, as I have mentioned before. So towards evening he gathered great heaps of firewood, and built them up in a ring round the house, and set fire to them, and lay down comfortably to sleep, for he knew that even demons would not venture across such a fire. Presently he woke to the sound of shrill laughter, and to his horror he heard a hissing noise, and saw that the demons had fetched water in big banana leaves from the sea, and had put out a portion of the fire. He tried to edge away, but it was useless, and their leader seized him by the leg and tossed him out to his friends. And that night, too, they played ball with him till sunrise.

"All next day Tui Liku pondered on this matter, and at last he decided to climb into a very high coco-nut tree and sleep there for the night, for he was very weary for the want of sleep. And that night he was again awakened by the

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noise of their laughter; but for a long time they could not find him, and he could see them searching up and down the beach for him. At last one of them said he had a wish to drink, and started to climb the tree for a coco-nut; nearer and nearer he came, and great, sir, was the fear of Tui Liku. Just as the demon reached the top he looked up and saw Tui Liku crouching there. With a loud yell he snatched him out and flung him to those below, who caught him and threw him up again nearly as high as the tree, and then started throwing him from one to the other as before.

"By the morning he was indeed very nearly dead, and great, too, was his need for sleep, but he managed to get as far as Butoni, and slept till the sun was high overhead. He then drank some nuts, and started also to scrape some others for *waliwali* (oil) to rub his bruised body with. Afterwards, when he had made a 'lovo'[1] and eaten, he lay down to think and devise some scheme for the night to come. 'Now,' he thought, 'it is useless to try and hide from these people on land, as they will spy me out anywhere; but as they are demons perhaps they will not be able to pass over water.' Accordingly, he felled a tall coco-nut tree which was overhanging the water's edge, so that it lay with its head far out to sea, gently lifting and falling with the movement of the waves.

[1] A South Sea Island method of cooking with leaves and heated stones.

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He then walked out along the stem, and hiding himself among the leaves of the crown, prepared himself for sleep.

"Now, sir," said the old man, counting off on his scarred old fingers as he spoke, "this was the fourth night that Tui Liku was about to pass on this haunted island, but he thought that his cunning would get him a good night's rest at last. And, indeed, it was nearly midnight before the sound of their voices wakened him, and they were not laughing as before, but seemed angry and perplexed in their tone. They had, I expect, searched all the island for Tui Liku, and thought that he had truly sailed away. Just then their leader came across the freshly-cut root of the coco-nut tree, and instantly ran along the trunk and caught Tui Liku by the hair. Great was their exultation, and great the sorrow of Tui Liku, for he had not thought that they could pass the water like that. One thing there was that was good, the rest of the night was but short in which they could disport themselves with him.

"Next day, after he had rested a little, he scraped some more nuts for oil, and deep was his thought as to how he should act in the night to come. He had tried the land, the air, and the water; and his mind was empty of another plan. Then he saw some little sand-crabs (*kaiki*) running

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*539 • 776 across the beach, and at once he decided to bury himself as the *kaikis* do in the sand; for here, surely, thought he, these evil-minded chiefs will never find me.

"So that evening he buried himself deep in the sand, leaving only a small hole, like the tunnel of a *kaiki*, for his nose to breathe through. And when the night came, great was the searching of the demons for Tui Liku; and they were just giving up when their leader said, 'Well, friends, how would it be to catch some *kaiki* for our *bulasi* (midnight snack)."

Here, I am afraid, I rather rudely interrupted the old gentleman to ask him how Tui Liku understood what they said, and why they used the expression *bulasi* instead of *bulago*.

"Have I not said, sir," he replied, "that Tui Liku was a wise man? I expect he had learnt their talk by this time. And, another [197] thing, were they not demons of Lau? Why, then, should they use the language of Bau?"[1]

Properly silenced by this, I asked him to proceed. He settled himself back again and continued.

"So they searched up and down the beach, [226] prodding the sand with sticks to find the *kaiki* tunnels, as is the custom when we seek *kaiki* for fish-bait. At last the leader came to where Tui

[1] Bau is the "Parisian" dialect of the Colony, and the old man had hitherto been telling his tale in it.

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Liku lay. '*Sobo*,'[1] said he, 'here is a large one.' 539*
And with that he thrust in his hand and twitched 776●
out Tui Liku by the nose! Now, the demons did not play ball with him that night, but they made a new game, and raced along the beach, dragging him round and round the island, sometimes through the sea and sometimes through the sand, till Tui Liku thought his end was near. But morning came at last, and with it they threw him with a yell inside the door of the house at Butoni.

"Nearly all that day Tui Liku slept, and late in the afternoon he ate some food and drank some nuts, and then thought what next he might do. 'Truly,' he said, 'there is nothing left that I have not done. There is nowhere now for me to hide. Would that my people from Matokano would come back.' Then he thought again, and went out and brought in five stems of banana trees; for thinking of his own people had given him a plan. Now, these stems he cut to the length of men, and arranged them about the mats to look like men lying down sleeping. He then got in among them and lay down to sleep.

"When it was dark he heard the voices outside as usual, but as they reached the door, he heard one say, '*Sobo*, they have come back again'; and

[1] An expression of astonishment.

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*539 •776 then he heard them creep away and whisper in the distance. Then, after a little, they came nearer again and changed their voices to those of girls, and sang beautiful songs outside, so that never had such sweet singing been heard on Tuvana before. And they sang and sang till at last Tui Liku sat up to listen the better to them. Then one, who had been hiding near the door, said, 'Look. There truly is Tui Liku. The others are not *kai-vuravura* (world-men) or they *could* not still lie there sleeping. It is but another plot of Tui Liku's.' So they rushed in and dragged him out, and this time they threw him nearly from one end of the island to the other. All night long they threw him about, so that when morning came he could hardly move; and he uttered sadly as they left him, 'Another such night as this and Tui Liku will be no more.' He then rolled over and fell asleep, and slept until late afternoon, when he got up and ate some food, and started to oil his aching limbs, his head nodding and his eyes half-closed with weariness as he did so."

THE GOING TO BUROTU.

"Whilst he was doing this there suddenly appeared in front of him 'Ligadua' (the one-armed), who is one of the Lords of Burotu, and is also a protector of the Matokano people.

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"'What is this, Tui Liku,' said he; 'why are you thus sleepy, and why do you look so sad?' 539* 776

"'It is because of the demons of this place, my lord,' said Tui Liku; and he told him what had befallen him. Whereat Ligadua was very angry, and he stepped across to his house (you may see the foundation of it to this day, a *yavu tameri* (a marvellous one indeed), and fit truly for a god. Now, outside his house lies the great Drum named *Sagasagawalé* (all-our-work-for-nothing), about the theft of which from Matokano by the god I will tell you some other day. He rang hard and loud on *Sagasagawalé*, and all the demons of Tuvana came running up at once and sat down in a circle before him. Then Ligadua spoke to them, and was very angry with them, and reproved them, and warned them never to touch Tui Liku again. They hung their heads [201] in silence, and plucked at the grass[1] near them, and were ashamed. Then Ligadua told them to go; and he called up Tui Liku and told him he might use his big house, and that he might wait there for a canoe from Matokano without further fear of the demons. 'As for me,' he said, 'I now go back to Burotu.'

"Then Tui Liku summoned up his courage and asked to be allowed to see Burotu.

"'If I take your spirit with me it may not be

[1] A Lauan method of showing shame.

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*539 ●776 able to return again to its body,' said Ligadua, 'for no world-man has ever yet come back from Burotu.'

"But Tui Liku continued to beg very hard, until at last Ligadua consented. But he warned him to follow exactly in his footsteps, and also to do everything exactly as he did, or Tui Liku would never return again to earth.

"So they went down to the beach where the surf-waves were rolling in. 'Now, when a white wave comes, wait, and do nothing; and when a black wave comes, wait, and do nothing; but when a red wave comes, jump. For the red wave is the true ferry-boat to Burotu,' said Ligadua.

"Whereupon he called out, *Lele mai Mua Vesi, Lele mai Mua Vesi* (bend over towards us a 'chiefly canoe'—meaning the red wave the [554] colour of *vesi*-wood—for at Ono the *mua vesi* were [501] the canoes of chiefs alone in those days; the [824] common people, as now, using hollowed coco-nut logs for their canoes). And then a red wave came, and they both jumped, but the spirit only of Tui Liku went on with Ligadua to Burotu, for his body was washed back on to the beach. And the name of that place is 'Vunikatavatu.'"

* * * * *

"So they reached Burotu Island, and entered the town, which was a noble town with fine

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houses and everything fair to see. And they came to the great Council House, in which sat the King of Burotu with his Chiefs. Now, the King was the father of Ligadua. 539* 776

"'Welcome home, Ligadua,' said the King. 'Good is your coming from the land of the world-people.'

"'It is good, sir,' said Ligadua; then he added, 'I have a friend from earth waiting outside.' For he had told Tui Liku to wait until he should ascertain the mind of the King.

"'Let him enter,' said the King.

"Then some Burotu people came in bringing *ai vonovono* (offerings) to Ligadua because of his home-coming. They brought two young coco-nuts on the branch, as is the custom in Lau. Now, these were red nuts, and very fine ones called *Niu Rerega*, such as Tui Liku had never seen before. After this, *Yaqona*[1] was made, and they drank it with all the ceremony proper to Burotu. And when this was over, Tui Liku nudged Ligadua, and whispered that he had a request to make. It was this, that he might take these nuts back to earth with him and plant them there. So Ligadua turned to the King and said, 'May it please you, sir, my *matanivanua* (aide-de-camp) wishes to take these nuts away to plant in his own country.' [276]

[1] Or Kava, the ceremonial drink of the South Seas.

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"'It is well. Tui Liku may take them,' said the King.

"Then Ligadua said that Tui Liku might look round the town, but he was not to enter any house, not even if one of the beautiful maidens beckoned to him, or he would never be able to return to earth again.

"So when Tui Liku had seen all the wonders of the town, and had eaten part of a fine feast at the King's house, he and Ligadua returned to Tuvana again. And Tui Liku planted the *Niu Rerega* at a place called Mataniwai, and they may still be seen there.

"And after a day or so they went back to Burotu once more, and this time Tui Liku brought away the beautiful short coco-nut called *Niu Leka*, whose tree is not much higher than a child, and yet bears its great crop of nuts.

"And twice more did they go to Burotu, bringing back *Miji*, the little bird that flits among the coco-nut trees, and also the seed of the *Qai Kula*, the great almond. And *Niu Leka* and *Qai Kula* he planted also at Mataniwai.

"Now the fourth time they returned to earth Tui Liku was dismayed to see that a *Dilio* (a sandpiper) had been pecking at his body, and had pecked one eye out.

"'*Isa, au vuta*' (I refuse to get back again into

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that), said Tui Liku, angrily, for he was a proud man, and full of vanity.

"'You must,' replied Ligadua, 'you may not stay here.'

"So Tui Liku perforce returned into his body. And soon after that the canoe came from Matokano, and he returned home; but he was ever afterwards known as *Matadua* (the one-eyed one).

"And the *Dilios* at Tuvana, to this day, call out '*Tui Liku, Tui Liku,*' all day long."

* * * * *

And here the old man's tale ended—a tale that was firmly believed in by his fathers, and not a little by himself, as a true story of what actually happened. And a family at Matokano claim to trace direct descent from Tui Liku to this day.

Now if the south Lauans came from the south-east, probably from Tonga (I mean came by "drift" in very remote days, and long before the eighteenth century Tongan invasions), they would have quite forgotten Tonga except as a vague and semi-mythical place. Then, when the old home was forgotten, it is possible that some adventurous spirit from Ono or Tuvana actually did sail—with that rare occurrence, a westerly wind—to Tonga, and bring back with him these fruits and birds; hence the tale of Tui Liku.

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One more word as to the Lauan Burotu. Ducks, and one sort of pigeon, were undoubtedly introduced (or else storm-driven) from Tonga; and there is a legend that there are two upright stones out on the reef at Tuvana which are in a straight line with the direction of the mysterious flight of duck and pigeon that came from Burotu, and these stones point to Tonga.

These two stones incidentally are said to be the captured gods that I mentioned earlier, and for many generations one could hear them saying in a sing-song chant out on the reef,

Burotu, Burotu, we two are hiding it,

until an impious trader at Ono, named Sidney Perry ("who sickened and died soon after"), some thirty years ago, "took a hammer and knocked them on the head *and killed them.*" Ever since when they have been silent!

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173 *539 a favourable wind from Vualiku,[1] let us return home while we may.' And a farewell feast was made, they launched the canoes, and on the morrow they started back for Ono.

"But that evening at dusk a *tokavuki* (small cyclone) sprang up and great was their alarm. The waves dashed over the canoes and the bailers never ceased their work all through the night. Fiercer blew the wind, and higher climbed the waves. Then shouted Tui Matokano, 'Throw over an offering of *Yaqona* to Ligadua, for it seems our time is near and he alone can save us.' [776] Ligadua, the one-armed, was the god of Matokano; but that, sir, was of course in the dark times, before the *lotu* (Christianity) had arrived," he explained, apologetically. "And he swore that should they ever see Ono again they would make such a *magiti* (feast) and present such offerings to the god as had never before been made. And then the waves began to abate and the winds grew quieter and more favourable, and in the morning they saw in the distance the hill-tops of Ono.

"And so they safely arrived home again, and great were the rejoicings when the people of Matokano saw the fine things that had been brought from Kabara. But Tui Matokano thought not of his promise, for he had many

[1] The north.

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demons when one hears it. And the people at Matokano named their drum *Sagasagawalé*, which means 'All our work for nothing.' *Sagasagawalé* was still standing at Matokano town when my father was a young man, for he saw it, though it had then nearly rotted away."

The *Yaqona* was now prepared, and a young man brought me the first cup, holding it up with both hands; and all called out "*Maca*" when I had drunk; for even in the most informal gatherings the people never omit the due ceremonies connected with *Yaqona* drinking.

THE GHOSTLY HEAD OF ULUPOKA.

Then when the others had each had their drink I asked if the gods always flew, or how did they get from place to place? I heard one man, the island constable, who owned the appropriate name of "Jonetani Gucake" (Jonathan the Zealous), whisper something about "Ulupoka."

"Well, Jonetani, and what about Ulupoka?" I asked.

Then Jonetani settled himself comfortably on his crossed legs, tailor fashion, and said:

"In the old times we of Ono had a god (and I have heard that he was also a god of Lakeba) called 'Ulupoka.' But he was *dua na ka rerevaka dina* (a fearsome thing of awe), and was

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seldom seen. He was a head only, and used to roll."

"Used to roll?" I repeated; "what do you mean?"

"Yes, sir, he just rolled along the ground. It was said that once there was a great fighting among the gods, and 'Ulupoka,' who was a malicious god, got slain, and his head was cut off and thrown to earth. Anyhow, that is all that appears to us; and it means sickness, if not death, when it is seen. It usually comes at dusk. One is, perhaps, sitting on the mats inside one's house, looking out through the open doorway, when a cold feeling comes over one, and one sees 'Ulupoka' come rolling and bouncing horribly across the *rara*, and then he comes over the threshold, wriggling across the mats, snarling with an evil look. One cannot get away, but has to sit there, waiting." Here he paused.

"And what then?" I said.

"He bites one's toe and goes away again."

I could not help smiling at the climax, but I could see that the whole thing was very real to the speaker.

"And does he ever appear nowadays?" I asked.

"Oh, yes," was the reply; "but only in our dreams, of course, for the *lotu* is the strongest now. And also there is another way we may know

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when he is about. You know the light *kato* (palm-leaf baskets) that are often thrown away empty about the town. 'Ulupoka' delights to climb into these, and sometimes when there is not a breath of wind one may see a basket suddenly go rolling along across the grass. Then we know that 'Ulupoka' has got into it."

The others all nodded their heads in acquiescence, and murmured "*Sa dina*" ('tis true).

THE FISHING OF THE SACRED "YAWA."

On another night we were speaking of fishing, and of the best-flavoured fish; for when one gets down to the primitive life one's thoughts turn naturally to food, and I was no exception, for there was not much else to talk about.

"The *saqa* is good, and the *kanacé* is good, but the *nuqa* is sweetest of all," said the native magistrate, a noted fisherman, who was sitting next to me.

"True are your words, sir," said a Doi man, sitting opposite; "but I think you cannot have tasted the *yawa*, the great fresh-water fish of Vanua Balavu."

"No. What is that, Rusiate?" replied the native magistrate.

"It is the sweetest fish in all the world, sir," replied Rusiate; "but it is sacred to the people of

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Sometimes there are over a hundred fish caught at one fishing; and 'tis indeed wonderful how they live and breathe in that mud. Then the fish are divided out, and half of them go to Tui Mavana and his *mataqali*, and half of them to the priest and his *mataqali*."

"And are these fish found nowhere else?" I asked.

"At Masomo and in Tonga only are they found, sir," was the reply. "And their coming was as follows," he went on. "There was a goddess who lived at Tonga "*dua na Marama rairai vinaka sara dina*" (a lady the most beautiful ever seen), and she fell in love with a god at Laucala, which is, as you know, not in the Lau Islands at all, but at Cakaudrove, in Fiji. And one day she decided to take him a present of the finest fish that could be found in all the world, and that was the *yawa*, the fish that lived at one of her smaller islands at Tonga. So she made a leaf basket and placed five or six fine live fish in it, and flew off on her long journey to Laucala. And on the way the fish began to wriggle about, and presently found a small opening at the bottom of the basket. And then their leader said, 'Come, brothers, help me force open this gap, for perchance we may thus drop into the sea and swim back to Tonga.' So they wriggled and nosed about and pushed at the

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opening until at last the strand gave way with a snap, and all the lot of them fell through. But the goddess happened to be passing over Masomo just then, and not over the sea, so that the fish fell on the grass and lay there gasping. 539* 773 776●

"The goddess flew on, not knowing what had happened; but when she arrived at Laucala great was her dismay on turning out her basket to find nothing but some bits of mud and leaves and a few fish-scales. And the god at Laucala thought she had been making a fool of him, and was angry and would have nothing to do with her.

"So she flew sadly back to Tonga, weeping bitterly as she went. And most of her tears fell into the sea; but as she passed Masomo, some of them fell there, where the fish lay. And they were not enough to form a pool of water, but just enough to make the ground marshy, and that is why the fishing place is a swamp to-day. And the fish-scales may still be seen at Laucala, looking like dusty glass."[1]

THE GOD WHO STOLE THE WATER FROM MOALA ISLAND.

"There was another carrying of goods between Tonga and the Lau Islands," said a man who had not yet spoken; "but that was no accident, but a thing of purpose." [115]

[1] Probably mica.

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"What was that, Jale?" said the Doi chief, taking a fire-brand to light his *suluka*.

"I don't know the tale very well," replied Jale; "for it was told me by my mother, and she only heard it from *her* mother, who was a woman of Moala Island. But I think it ran as follows:

"Long before the *Gauna Vakatoga* (the time of the Tongan occupation) there were occasional visitors from Tonga in canoes that were blown out of their course. And sometimes these people were killed, and sometimes—if there were many armed men in the canoe—they were met in a friendly spirit and entertained till they could return to their own land. And thus a Tongan canoe once came to Moala Island.

"And when they were about to return, the Chief of Moala gave to the Chief of the Tongans his daughter, Roko-vaka-ola, to wife. And Roko-vaka-ola was very beautiful, and had found favour in the eyes of Kubu-ni-vanua, the great god of Moala. And she wept and entreated her father that she might not be sent to Tonga; but her father was secretly afraid of the Tongan chief, and she had to go. And so she was taken to live at Tungua Island, where her Tongan husband gave her a fine house and all that she could desire.

"But still she was not happy, and wept often

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when by herself. And one day Kubu-ni-vanua heard her weeping, and flew over to Tonga, and asked her what it was that troubled her. Then she said, 'Take me back to my home at Moala. I do not like this land. It is dry and bare, and there is very little food, and not even fresh water to drink. (For Tungua was like many of the Lau Islands in that it had no water; though Moala, as you know, sir, had always fine running streams.)

"'I cannot take you back to Moala,' said Kubu-ni-vanua, 'but I can bring you water, and perhaps even some Dalo for food.' At this she looked up and smiled, and Kubu-ni-vanua felt that he must do this thing for her at once.

"So he flew back to Moala and went to the place called Matamatakalou, which is near to Cakova town, and he took a great Dalo leaf and twisted it into a cup and filled it at the spring there. Then he flew off again with it to Tonga and left it on the ground outside the house of Roko-vaka-ola. And in the morning when she went out she found a beautiful spring just outside her door, with water clear and bright and very cold; and by the side of the spring, where the Dalo leaf had lain, there were already some fine Dalo plants growing up. Then was Roko-vaka-ola happy indeed, and from that day she ceased to pine.

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539 773 776 "And this, sir, is a curious thing. You will find exactly the same sort of trees and shrubs at Tungua as you will find round Matamatakalou; and further, only at Tungua in the whole of Tonga will you find these things."

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123 the iron tools that you white chiefs brought to
412 Fiji far surpass our ancient axes in hardness,
115 though that stone you hold is indeed a hard one, almost hard enough to hurt the children of Rasikilau." And then she told me the story of Rasikilau the Mighty, and from that went on
[103] to tales of the other gods of the Exploring Isles[1] till the lengthening shadows at the house-door made me realize with a start how long I had spent listening to these legends, told by the lips of the last of the old people who still held personal belief in them.

*539 "In the days before the first foreign ship came
773 to Lau," she began, lighting a *suluka*[2] with a
● 776 small fire-brand, "there lived on Cikobia-Island over yonder a god called Rasikilau, whose movements shook the hills when he walked, and whose head reached the tops of the highest palm-trees. Even now, when the men of Cikobia lie out on the beach on hot nights, they can sometimes feel the earth tremble, and they know that Rasikilau is moving near them.

"Now, Rasikilau mated with a goddess, a princess beautiful to see, who came sailing in a canoe from far away to the north,[3] so far that no man has ever known the name of that land;

[1] Vanua Balavu and a few adjacent islets of northern Lau.
[2] Native cheroot.
[3] Probably part of the legend that the Cikobia of Lau people are *tauvu*, or of common ancestry, with the people of Cikobia i Ra, an island to the north of Fiji.

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and in course of time they had two children, boys of great beauty and strength. So powerful were these boys that they were wont to pull up the *mamakara* trees by the roots to make their clubs of, which, as you know, sir, is not a thing to be done by the men of to-day. And when they played it was their custom to divide the island between them, and, standing at the two ends, to throw pebbles from one to the other in their sport, for they had no *dawa* fruit in those days to play with, as boys on other islands have. And Rasikilau looked on them with pride.

"But there came a day when the boys disputed about a fish that they had caught, and their spirit grew hot within them, so much so that one of them took up a big stone and threw it at his brother in anger. And then they started to heave mighty rocks at each other from afar off, but the great stones merely burst against their heads where they struck. Thus it has become a saying amongst us, 'As hard as the heads of Rasikilau's children.'

"But Rasikilau had come upon them suddenly through the trees, and had observed all this, and great was his fear as he saw it. For, thought he, if my sons are strong like this when they are still but boys, they will surely overpower me when they grow up, and cast me out of my island. So, without further thought, he rushed in between

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them and catching each by the hair he dashed their heads together, and they fell down dead.

"But after he had done this his heart was troubled within him, and going home to his wife, he said, '*Sobo!* A dreadful thing has just happened. Our sons have learnt to play with stones, and but now they have slain each other in anger with great boulders.'

"Loud was the wailing of the mother, and she refused to be comforted; and for many days she stayed in the house, only going forth each morning to tend the graves of her sons. And Rasikilau was sad at heart when he saw this; but he kept silence as to what he had truly done.

"Now, one day, Koroibo, the god who lived on Munia Island across the lagoon, heard of Rasikilau's troubles, and came across in a canoe to see him and bring him gifts. And when he landed on the beach he saw the *mamakara* trees for the first time—for he had none on Munia. '*Isa*,' said he, 'this is a fine shady tree to sit under, and the timber of it seems to me to be as fine as any wood I have yet seen.' And his longing to have the *mamakaras* for his own grew great within him.

"So he devised a scheme, and in the evening, after they had fed, he said to Rasikilau, 'Oh, Tui Cikobia (for he was also called Lord of Cikobia), if you had had the *dawa* trees on your island this evil would never have happened, for

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your children would have only thrown the soft fruit at each other, as other children do. And if you should have more children it is plain that the same thing will happen again.'

"'True are your words, Koroibo,' replied the other. 'But what can I do? I have no *dawa* trees on my island, and where can one procure such things in these parts?'

"'My spirit is heavy within me for thinking of you, Tui Cikobia,' said Koroibo; 'and I, who have *dawa* trees will make you a present of all of them; and you shall give me your *mamakara* trees to take to Munia.'

"'So be it,' said Rasikilau. And forthwith they made the exchange, mixing a bowl of *Yaqona* to seal the bargain.

But of little avail to Rasikilau were the *dawa* trees, for his wife refused to be comforted, and soon afterwards she died. While Koroibo quickly lamented the loss of his fine fruit, and to this day he sits sorrowfully beneath his *mamakara* trees; and sometimes you may hear a sigh as you pass a cluster of them in one of the valleys of Munia. For never again did the *dawa* grow on Munia Island or the *mamakara* on Cikobia."

"But are these gods never seen nowadays?" I asked.

"No," replied the old lady, a little doubtfully. "Have not the missionaries brought the light of

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776 the good *lotu*[1] to us now? Of course there is Adi Mailagi, the goddess of Uruone district," she added, cheerfully, "who used to appear up till a few years ago; and then there is Daucina, who lives a little way down the coast; but all the other gods now only show themselves in their *waqawaqa*[2] as birds or animals or fishes. They are people of the dark times, and they fear the missionaries," she recited somewhat primly, as a child saying a lesson.

I am afraid I smiled a little as I hastily agreed with her, and then I asked her to tell me about Adi Mailagi.

*539 776 "Adi Mailagi," she began, picking up her palm-leaf fan and coyly plucking at its border, "was a goddess who was very fond of young men, especially if they were handsome. But evil was the day when a young man met Adi Mailagi, for she snared his soul as the women net the little fish at the rising tide. Any man who had once succumbed to her embraces would pine and pine away until he died of longing for her, and then his soul was hers and evil was his fate.

"The way of her first coming to these parts was as follows: All the men of Uruone were one day planting out their *dalo* in the water terraces to the north of the village, and the women had just brought them up their mid-day meal, when

[1] Religion or Christianity. [2] Earthly representations.

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suddenly a rushing noise was heard in the sky and a small speck was seen high up, which grew bigger and bigger till they could see that it was indeed a goddess falling to the earth. Down she came, straight into the little creek that lies below the terraces and is known as Na Kele Kele. With a loud cry she jumped to the bank, and called out '*Bula koi au. Au lutu mai lagi*,'[1] and then disappeared. And all that the people could see was a large grey rat running along the path to Daku, at the back of the island. Hence she is called 'Adi Mailagi,' the Lady from the Sky.

"And the next day the rat was seen again by some men at Udu, which is a part of Daku, and it spoke to them, so that they knew it for Adi Mailagi, and were much afraid. And her home has been at Udu ever since.

"When she wants to snare a man she appears as a beautiful princess; but when she meets a woman, or a man whom she does not desire, she does not trouble about her appearance, and she then shows herself as an old hag, horrible to see. She likes not noises near her home and all must speak in whispers when passing by.

"Once the Uruone men were bringing back a great wooden drum which they had hewn out at Daku; and when they arrived at Udu they decided that it was too heavy to carry over the

[1] "All is well with me. I have dropped from the sky."

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*539 hill without further help. So they left it there for
•776 the night. Now, a young girl named Sulia Meli chanced to come along past the spot where the drum was lying, and out of mischief she picked up the staves and rang a loud call upon it. Immediately Adi Mailagi came out of a tree as a terrible old woman, and snatched her up and broke her leg, so that shortly afterwards Sulia died.

"Yes, truly, Adi Mailagi is one to be feared," said the old lady, shuddering at the vision she had herself called up.

"More often," she continued with a smile, [302] "she appears as a beautiful maiden, and always with the *tobi*,[1] as when she appeared to Emosi, the native minister, when he was walking one day to Daku. She offered him a *suluka* (for that is how she captures a man); but though he accepted it he refrained (being a missionary) from smoking it. And thus Emosi lived, although a great illness came upon him merely for his having touched the gift of Adi Mailagi. And therefore to this day our young men will never accept *sulukas* from strange maidens on that road between Uruone and Daku.

"And another young man who met Adi Mailagi and yet lived was Semesa of Uruone, who once went to sleep with the other youths in the men's *bure*,[2] and during the night found himself

[1] Plaited side curls which are cut off the day a girl is married.
[2] Sleeping house.

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carried in the mat he had rolled himself up in because of the mosquitoes, to the top of Delai-dradramua Hill. Sorely was he troubled on opening his eyes just before cock-crow to see the stars above him in the open sky; and his father took great gifts to the home of the grey rat to ask the mind of Adi Mailagi as to this thing. But the only answer was 'Semesa is free—let him live'; so that we never really knew what was the meaning of it. For always is she hard in in spirit and one to be feared.

"Often does she take the shades of quite small children away with her in her palm-leaf basket, and then the children themselves fall sick in their homes; and unless their shades can escape from her and run home again those children must surely die.

"Tui Merike, the deaf-mute of Oneata Island, is known to you, sir—a man but ill-favoured in countenance and to whom, therefore, Adi Mailagi once appeared in the guise of an old woman; yet he escaped and is alive to-day. The tale of it runs thus: He was slowly riding at dusk one day on his pony from Loma Loma to Mualevu, when from behind a tree that he had just passed near Uruone town there came an evil-looking dame who called out, 'Whither goest?'

"At this the pony shied furiously and sweated with fear, so that Tui Merike knew that it was indeed the goddess, and without replying he

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urged on his horse to a swift gallop. But fast as he rode, just as fast came the noise of the goddess moving along the track behind him; and on his looking round he was horrified to see that the thud, thud on the ground, like the beating of hoofs, was the noise of her aged breasts tapping along the path as she ran. With a mighty effort his horse flew past the bridge at the borders of Mualevu town, and then Adi Mailagi gave up, calling after him, 'Beware, Tui Merike, 'tis only your speed that has saved you this time." (I did not venture to inquire how it was that a deaf man had heard all this, and the old lady continued.)

"There was also a man called Josefa, who had seen Adi Mailagi, and did not suffer any evil therefrom, because he surprised her, instead of her laying in wait for him, as is her usual custom. At Vatukalove, just beyond the Government Station, there is a sharp corner of the coast-road which is well known to you. At this spot Josefa, suddenly coming round the bend of the road, came upon Adi Mailagi sitting pensively on the ground, with her tongue hanging out, about four feet in length, and trailing along like a snake. She screamed as he came upon her, and as quick as a lightning flash she leaped into the water and swam out to sea for quite a mile, and then came in again to land at a place lower down the

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coast. And Josefa told me of this, and nothing evil ever happened to him.

"But when she appears in her *waqawaqa* as the rat, all may look on her without harm, and she will even give help and strength to the people of her tribe, the men of Uruone; and they to this very day are wont to take a root of *Yaqona* as an offering to her when they are about to take part in a *tiqa*[1] match. But they can now only place their gifts on the stump of the old *ivi* tree that used to be her home, and seldom is she seen now since Apaitia, the last Tui Uruone, had that tree and also the *Makosoi* tree near to it cut down. In the old days the custom was as follows: when the people wished to honour her they would approach with all due humility to the hole beneath the *ivi* tree. Then the priests, who were always of the Na-Ivi-ki-lamo tribe, would take firewood and burn it, and the big, grey rat would appear, and running up the *Ivi* tree she would jump across to the *Makosoi*, and seated on a bough there would answer the questions put to her. Then she would descend and the priests would oil her and tend her, feeding her on the best portions of the food.

"Now, the grey rat would always appear as a warning when one of the Na Uto tribe, who are the chiefly tribe of Uruone, was about to die. But there came a time when so many of the tribe

[1] Weighted reeds thrown head first.

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*539 *did* die (this was in the bad days of the measles,
● 776 sir), that Tui Uruone thought he would stay the deaths by killing the rat. So he went forth with some of his men to Daku, and cut down the two trees; but the rat escaped, and is sometimes seen even now. But Tui Uruone himself died soon afterwards."

A young man here came in with a coco-nut cup brimming with a refreshing draft of *Yaqona*; and after we had both partaken and lit more *sulukas*, Adi Letila continued her story.

*539 "I have spoken, sir, of Dau Cina, 'the god of
776 the flickering light.' Perchance you may have
821 seen on certain dark nights a faint light that wanders about between Na Malata Island and the mainland, sometimes moving up and down the hill-sides of Na Malata, and anon dancing across the narrow strait till it settles down in the gorge near the spring of heated waters. This is the light of Dau Cina, or Tutumatua; and woe betide our maidens who cross his path when he moves abroad. He is an evil-minded god, and
*539 the mission preachers of our race oft declaim
776 against him," she continued, and a little smile crept to the corners of her mouth as she aimlessly traced patterns with her finger on the mats, "for it sometimes happens that upon Dau Cina do our maidens cast the blame when all is not well with them. Yet, perhaps, it is not always Dau Cina.

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Who knows? Yet 'tis well remembered how Dau Cina appeared to the daughter of Tui Yaro as she was scraping *masi*[1] at the stream by Koro Korokoti. What happened there is not for me to tell you, sir, but that day all the men of the town came out in their rage to kill Dau Cina, who fled before them, and flew off across the seas to the Moala Islands. And many strange things befell him there—things that I may not speak of—until one day he was worsted by a girl of Nasoki village, and fled back again to this island, where he has remained ever since. Yet there was one day when he ventured across to Munia Island; but while there he annoyed Koroibo in an unseemly manner, and was so cast forth from there. Ah, Dau Cina was indeed an evil god, and 'tis well the missionaries have brought the light to us."

But for all Dau Cina's sins I am afraid the old lady kept a warm corner in her heart for this naughty god, and there was a twinkle in her eye as she re-lit her *suluka* and proceeded.

"There was an occasion, however, on which Dau Cina proved himself all-powerful against the chief god of Mualevu district. They met by chance on the coast at the place called Na Lele—where Wea the Tongan now has his coco-nut grove—and there Dau Cina challenged the other to

[1] Bark from which native cloth is made.

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*539 a throwing of spears. They threw towards a spot
• 776 where Na Malata faces this island, and which
823 was then all one land with us; and they decided that the one who threw the best spear should be acknowledged chief for all time. Three times did they each essay, and on the third cast Dau Cina made such a mighty spearing that he cleft the neck of land in twain. And thus did Na Malata become an island.

*539 "This, perhaps, is but a tale of our forefathers,
776 and may not be altogether a true thing; but of what befell Aca, the half-caste, there can be no doubt, for is he not here in the village amongst us to this day, and ready to tell with his own lips the happenings that came to him? This is the story as he told it to us that day when he came running back along the white beaches, trembling like a startled horse, and his eyes wide open with the horror of what he had seen. He was but a lad at the time, nearly thirty years ago, but I remember well his words. He had been to Futuna with Tui Qara, Lilo, and Seremaia, to visit the coco-nut groves of Lilo; and on the way a black and white sea-snake crossed their path, as they sometimes do where the road girts the sea marge.

"Now, Tui Qara, in a fit of wantonness stabbed at it with his spear and wounded it. And as he struck he felt a strange pang dart up his arm, and
[793] fear entered his heart. 'Fool that I am,' said

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he, 'to strike the serpent of Dau Cina; I, who am the *bété*[1] of the god as my fathers have been before me. Some evil will surely come of this.'

"However, they went their way, and before long the matter was forgotten. And so they reached Futuna; and after their evening meal they went to sleep in the *volau*[2] that Lilo had built to store his copra in. And in the middle of the night they heard a great *Kumete*[3] that lay outside roll over of its own accord, for no one was to be seen; and then they heard strange moanings, and the lips of Tui Qara spoke, but the voice was not the voice of Tui Qara; and the words were these: 'I, Dau Cina, who speak, am about to slay you, Tui Qara! My priest are you, yet you have flaunted me. Death shall be your food.' Then Tui Qara groped about and snatched up a big flaming brand from the fire, and started crunching it between his teeth, and biting off great chunks of it, his eyes rolling round in a manner horrible to see.

"He then called out for a bowl of sea-water to quench his thirst, but Aca was filled with a great fear and ran away. Tui Qara lay for two months in the village of Mavana, sick nigh unto death; but at last his health returned and he lived for some years afterwards. But he never spoke again of the doings of that night at Futuna."

[1] Priest. [2] Rough palm-leaf shelter. [3] Wooden trough.

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A little shiver passed over the old lady as she finished speaking, and on looking out I saw that the lengthening shadows of the trees had reached to the house door. She took up a sheet of *tappa*[1] to put about her shoulders, and I rose to go, thanking her for the entertainment she had given me.

"'Tis but a little telling of our ancient stories," she said; "and there are many more that come into my mind. Should you come again there are certain tales to be told of Dakuwaqa, the great shark-god of eastern Fiji; and of Ulumatua, the serpent, who was the eldest son of Dengei himself; but I cannot now remember things as I could in the days gone by. I am getting old, I suppose, and my death is not far off," she added calmly.

And so I left her, the tales of the old gods still ringing in my ears, while as I passed through the village the chant of evensong and family prayers came from the houses of devout Lauans, whose fathers, perhaps, and whose grandfathers, without doubt, had brought offerings with fear and trembling to those same gods of whom I had heard that day.

[1] Native cloth.

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THE SHARK-GOD AND THE FATHER OF SERPENTS.

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THE night was dark and my footsteps had been unnoticed as I neared the end of the wooden jetty that lies off the little town of Loma Loma, and thus, during my evening stroll, I had come unnoticed upon a small group of natives intently looking at one of their number who was fastening something to the under-structures of the wharf. I distinctly heard the word "Dakuwaqa" as I approached; but just then one of them saw me, and, looking a little uncomfortable, they all stepped on one side as if to show me that there was nothing there that anyone might not see. I casually asked what they were doing, and one of them replied, without hesitation, "We are just about to start fishing, sir"; so thinking no more of the matter I wished them luck; and after an interchange of "good evenings" started back for home. But as I walked along the beach under the shadows of the scented, overhanging trees, the tales of old Adi Letila recurred to my mind, and I determined to ask some one

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in the morning whether, even at this day, the ancient heathen observances of Dakuwaqa,[1] the shark-god, still lingered among the people.

I had noticed one of my policemen among them, and next morning, after a few questions on other matters, I said, "By the way, Apenai, what was that little talk of Dakuwaqa I heard among you men at the wharf last night?" Apenai looked a bit confused, and then replied, "Oh, no, sir; I had nothing to do with that. I had only just arrived when they started to lower the *Yaqona* to Dakuwaqa. They are *lialia*[2] to do such things in these enlightened times. It is true, sir, that this morning it was found that the *Yaqona* had been accepted and taken away; but, perhaps, it was not Dakuwaqa after all. No one believes in Dakuwaqa nowadays." But, for all his protests, I firmly believed that my trusty constable had had more than a passing interest in the little tribute to Dakuwaqa, and I decided to ask Adi Letila to tell me more of this mysterious creature, the shark-god who patrolled these waters and disturbed even the official minds of "the force."

That afternoon I found the old lady just putting away her stencilling outfit of cut banana leaves and *kosa* dyes; for she had had a busy day, for all her seventy odd years, at designing the brown and black patterns on a huge sheet of

[1] Literally, the hull or back of a ship, implying his enormous size.
[2] Foolish.

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white *tappa* that was spread out before the house on the level green turf. When she had comfortably settled herself down and lit the inevitable *suluka*, I asked her to tell me something of Dakuwaqa, and the other gods whom I had heard her mention from time to time.

"It is not for me to say much of Dakuwaqa," she began; "for are we not of the *lotu dina*[1] now? Even before I was born had the earliest missionary arrived at Lakeba. Though it was not till Tui Tubou's[2] visit—for which I helped to cook the feast—that most of this island were converted. I can only tell you what I have heard from our fathers and of what I myself remember when I was a girl.

"You must know, sir, that we of Northern Lau are of one kin with the people of Vanua Levu (Fiji), and until "the hoisting of the flag"[3] we paid tribute to the Lords of Cakaudrove as our masters. But the men of Lakeba Island (who were also the rulers of all the islands to the south) never paid tribute to Cakaudrove, and were lords in their own right. And this is the story of how it came about.

"It was said that Tokairabe, the son of the god Tutumatua or Tui Lakeba, by the goddess Liku Cava, had made some magic fish-hooks

[1] True faith.
[2] The King of Tonga, who came on an evangelical mission to Fiji in 1853.
[3] Cession to Great Britain.

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*539 which no fish could resist, and that thus had he
● 776 obtained over-lordship of all the fish in the seas. Now, Dakuwaqa, the great shark-god of Cakaudrove, was the ancient king of all fish, and he knew that unless he could get these magic hooks from Tokairabe the fish around Lakeba would no longer *vaka rorogo*[1] to him. So he set off for Lakeba secretly and stealthily as was his wont, moving like a dark shadow through the waters, and for three days lay off the coasts of the island waiting patiently for his chance. And on the third day he spied upon the beach at Na Tuvu a young man about to bathe, and this young man was none other than Tokairabe.

"And Tokairabe was wearing as a *salu salu*,[2] shimmering in the sun, a beautiful string of shell fish-hooks, the magic hooks which Dakuwaqa so greatly coveted. And still Dakuwaqa waited. But when Tokairabe's feet were off the bottom and he was altogether in the home of Dakuwaqa, the god of the waters dashed in and seized the necklace and swam off furiously to the north, his great sail[3] spread above him proudly for all to see.

"Then Tokairabe gave a great cry, for his *salu salu* was very dear to him, and his heart was sore at losing it. And Tui Vutu, his friend, heard the cry from his home at Na Vutu-i-cake, and,

[1] Acknowledge him chief. [2] Necklace. [3] Triangular fin.

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assuming the shape of a bird, he flew after Dakuwaqa across the seas. Fast swam the shark-god, but faster flew Tui Vutu, until at last, near Vanua Balavu Island, the race was run, and Tui Vutu grasped the necklace and set off home. And for a reward Tokairabe gave Tui Vutu the rank of Mataivalu Kalou, so that he was ever afterwards given the first place in all things.

"And never again did Tokairabe take his *salu salu* into the water with him, so that to this day the people of Lakeba take no tribute to Cakaudrove, whereas we of Vanua Balavu still carry yearly gifts there.

"Now, even before the flag-hoisting, the *Konisela*[1] had come to this town and at a meeting had decided that the over-lordship of the Northern Isles should go to Maafu, Lord of Lau, and that Tui Cakau of Cakaudrove should no longer hold claim to them; and when the *matanitu*[2] arrived the over-lordship passed to it in turn; and it was only our ancient love of custom that caused us of the Northern Isles still to carry annual gifts to Cakaudrove.

"And thus it came about that not so many years ago old Akuila Toro, Chief of Mualevu—whom I saw out on the *rara*[3] but yesterday—sailed one day to Taveuni to bear his annual *sevu*[4] to Tui Cakau; and his ship, a fine schooner

[1] The British Consul, Capt. Jones, V.C. [2] British Government.
[3] Village green. [4] Offerings.

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776 825 called the 'Meré,' met a sudden storm in Somo Somo Straits, and sprang a leak and sank, leaving Ratu Toro and all his men to swim to the distant shore.

"And when they were about half-way a great shark rose to the surface and looked at them, and then swam slowly round them, smelling at each as he passed; and they knew no fear, for were they not Dakuwaqa's men and recognized by him? But there was a Tongan sailor with them and him they placed in their midst, for had Dakuwaqa seen him, short indeed would have been his life. And so they made safely to shore and all were unscathed; and the Tongan, climbing up on to the reef, cried out, mockingly, '*Sa lako, Bokola*,'—and *Bokola*,[1] as you know, sir, is but an ill name to call anyone, and not at all a word to use to a god. And the Tongan escaped on that day; but months afterwards word came from far-off Tonga that he had been taken by a shark while out fishing one day—for Dakuwaqa never forgets—and the fear of Dakuwaqa thus became greater than ever.

262 825 776 [20] "These, sir, are but idle tales," added the old lady, with a would-be scornful shrug of her shoulders, meant to impress on me her utter disbelief in such things. "You know, of course,

[1] Literally, the corpse of an enemy prepared for a cannibal feast; and the greatest insult in the language.

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that the men of Boitaci used to claim that they could ride to safety on Dakuwaqa's back if ever they were worsted in a battle; but I have never seen that done, and no doubt 'tis but a *kava* tale. This, however, I do know, that the flesh of the shark is *tabu* to them to this day, whereas to other parts of Lau it is allowed; and, indeed, young shark, and the fins and certain parts of even a full-grown shark, are with us deemed a food worthy of chiefs.

"But enough of Dakuwaqa. It comes to my mind that I promised once to tell you the story of Ulumatua, the great serpent-god of my own people, the tribe of Gala, and of certain other tribes of these parts.

"Well-known to all is the history of Degei, the parent god of all, who dwelt in the Na Kauvadra mountains of Great Fiji; but of his children who journeyed on towards the rising sun and finally landed on our coasts but few know the full tale.

"Now, the eldest of these was Ulumatua, and he came to this isle in the very ancient days before man lived here at all; swimming over the great seas came he in company with his brethren. And here it was that they parted, some going to Kabara and the other isles to the south, and some going in a westerly direction to Moala and the neighbouring lands. But

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*539 ●776 Ulumatua was well content with this place, and chose for his home a cave on the hill-top looking over the plain where now stands Loma Loma town.

"No one alive to-day has seen Ulumatua himself, but his priests used to say that he was of immense size, truly a god indeed; and once, as a small child, while rambling on the hill-top in the twilight, I saw his family of little serpents, ten in number, disappearing into his home, bearing with them a *solevu* of *yau*.[1] My parents thought I lied about this thing," she added, smiling; "but I verily believed at the time that I saw the gifts they carried. Who knows? To-day we see the marvels which you white chiefs have brought—the box that talks, and the big steamships—truly as wonderful as the thing I saw.

"Ulumatua was not only a serpent of a size fearsome to see, but he was unlike all others inasmuch as his tail was rounded and ended bluntly (like the tail of Misi Bamani's white dog). So [793] at least was he described by Moto Loki Loki of the Lewega tribe, who was the hereditary priest when I was a child. It was Moto's duty to enter the cave at certain seasons of the year with offerings, and to anoint Ulumatua with scented oils, rubbing him with them as a chief is rubbed

[1] A ceremonial presentation of gifts.

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before taking part in a war-dance,[1] And Moto would act as mediator between the god and the people, who if they had a sick child would *soro*[2] to Ulumatua and take gifts, when the child would live.

"And Gala, which is the chiefly tribe here, is *tauvu*[3] to Boma on Taveuni Island, and thus we think that Ulumatua must have come here from that part. To this day the *cavu*[4] of the Gala tribe is '*Ulumatua*'; and our young men, when they go forth to the Tiqa match, cry out '*Ulumatua*,' to speed their spears along the chosen ground. And this you may have heard, sir, even at the great missionary meeting last week. Of course, the god can give them no assistance now, for the light has come amongst us and we no longer give credit to such foolish tales."

I replied that we all knew that Adi Letila was too enlightened to believe in such things nowadays, but as I walked away under the great avenue of mango trees I wondered!

[1] Only recently I found Inia, my native sergeant of police, oiling two snakes which he had captured. I asked him why he did it and he replied that he thought they liked it, and he intended to treat them well and make pets of them; though I am convinced there was no idea of snake worship in his mind.

[2] Ask forgiveness for any faults.

[3] Of common origin.

[4] Battle-cry.